

INTERDENOMINATIONAL
FAITH MISSIONS
IN AFRICA

KLAUS FIEDLER



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**INTERDENOMINATIONAL
FAITH MISSIONS
IN AFRICA**

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**Interdenominational
Faith Missions
in Africa**

History and Ecclesiology

Klaus Fiedler



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2018

To my teachers Martin Metzger, John Mbiti, Canon Hutchinson, Louise Pirouet, Isariah Kimambo

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Foreword

This book is the revised edition of the earlier book: "Story of Faith Missions" (1994) or "The Story of Faith Missions from Hudson Taylor to Present Day Africa" (1995, both Regnum, Oxford), which in turn was the English version of the (earlier and quite different) "Ganz auf Vertrauen. Geschichte und Kirchenverständnis der Glaubensmissionen" Gießen/Basel: Brunnen 1992). All three books have been sold out for years, and as they have not been superseded by more recent works, I felt that a new edition of the English version would be appropriate.

When I did the original research in the late 1980s, I lived in Germany, though my mind was much in Africa. In 1992 I moved back to Africa, not to Tanzania where I had lived for seven years, but to its neighbour, Malawi; and from rural missionary work to teaching at the university.

To really update the book while in Germany would have been a daunting task, but to do so from here in Malawi, with somewhat changing research interests due to different work commitments, would have been outrightly impossible. Though I could not bring the contents up to date, I have included new information wherever it was available to me, marked by an asterisk (*). Such additions are mostly found in the footnotes, but also sometimes in the text. And where they have a Malawian bias, this is due to the fact that this is the country where I have been living and working over the last quarter of a century.

Looking back over the last 25 years, I want to express my gratitude that I could teach 15 years at the University of Malawi (Chancellor College, Zomba) and 10 years at Mzuzu University. I am grateful to our students from whom I learnt so much and to my colleagues with whom I shared the work.

I also want to take this opportunity to thank those who made the research (Dr. theol. Heidelberg University) possible, first the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and then Dr. Irene Fiedler, and also to thank those who helped in the research work and in the production of the books that resulted from it.

Klaus Fiedler

Mzuzu, March 2018

Chapter 1: A Plurality of Missions: The Faith Missions in the Context of the Protestant Missionary Movement

The term 'faith missions' was not coined by the faith missions themselves. They did not claim that other missions worked without faith, nor did they claim to have more faith than the missions that had started their work decades earlier. It was others who took one of the faith missions' innovative concepts—the 'faith principle' of financial support¹—and referred to them under that name. This was only partially correct, because 'faith support' is not the most important characteristic of these missions. The most important characteristic is indeed brought out by the name they often use for themselves: 'interdenominational' missions.² Because not every interdenominational mission is necessarily a faith mission, in this book they will always be called 'faith missions.' After all, the Methodists, the Baptists and the Quakers did not fare badly with a name that others had chosen for them.

Possible definitions of 'faith missions'

There are various ways of defining what a faith mission is. For this book, the term is defined by history. A faith mission is a mission which traces its origin or (more often) the origin of its principles³ directly or indirectly back to the

¹ As Hudson Taylor formulated it: 'God's work done in God's way will not lack God's supply.'

² The association of North American faith missions bears the name Interdenominational Foreign Missions Association (IFMA). This term was chosen in order not to give the impression that denominational missions lacked faith (Edwin L. Frizen, *An Historical Study of the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association in Relation to Evangelical Unity and Cooperation*, DMiss, Deerfield, 1981, 23). Nevertheless, IFMA published a booklet in which each member mission presented itself, under the title: 'Faith Mighty Faith' (J. Herbert Kane, Wheaton, 1956).

³ This includes the limited number of missions which did not start as faith missions, but at some point in their history, consciously accepted their principles.

China Inland Mission (CIM), which was founded by Hudson Taylor and his wife Maria in 1865—not simply as one new mission among others, but as the first mission of what turned out to be a completely new missionary movement.⁴

In order to define clearly what faith missions are, it is better to look at the various missionary movements in the context of the revival movements that shaped Protestant church history.

Looking at church history in this way, it is less a linear development of denominations than a succession of revival cross currents affecting the denominations and the non-Christian sectors of society in various ways. Because nearly all missions trace their origin back to a revival, the various movements of spiritual renewal from which they originated may well serve as a guide for classifying Protestant missions.⁵ This method of classification allows for the changes which inevitably occur over time—if it can be demonstrated that those changes usually take place within a given sector of the Protestant missionary movement and, therefore do not blur the differences between them. This is indeed the case, for today's mission associations reflect to a large extent the revival movements that brought about the birth of their member missions.⁶ If one accepts historic origin as

Major examples are Pilgermission St. Chrischona (1840) and Women's United Missionary Society (1860).

⁴ An exception is made to this historical definition in the rare case of a mission consciously repudiating faith mission principles. Possibly there is only one mission which did this: the Kieler Mission, which started as the German Branch of the CIM (Andreas Franz, "Die Abkehr von den Prinzipien einer Glaubensmission, dargestellt am Beispiel der Kieler Mission" in: Klaus Fiedler, *Missionswerke ohne Spendenkampagnen—Die Glaubensmissionen heute und in der Vergangenheit*, idea-dokumentation 9/11, 55-59).

⁵ *This is the guiding principle in Klaus Fiedler, *Missions as the Theology of the Church. An Argument from Malawi*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2015.

⁶ If this is true, the change of a mission from one 'type' to another would be a significant event in its history, requiring special interpretation. - *The Restorationist Revival, not united in itself, also did not produce a distinct missionary movement of its own. The Restorationist movements, which soon turned into denominations,

a valid base for the classification of missions, a 'historical typology' can be reached. The results of such an attempt are summarized in the table on the next but one page. On the following page the concept of historical typology is applied to the various national mission associations.

The historical typology of Protestant missions

Kenneth Scott Latourette calls the period from 1800-1914 the 'Great Century' of world missions, with William Carey at its very onset.⁷ During this period, the mission society—independent of the churches but closely related to them—is the characteristic organizational form of missionary work.⁸ The missions of the Great Century are known as the 'classical missions'; all missionary enterprises before 1793 look more like fore-runners, and are therefore known as 'pre-classical' missions. No one can minimize the crucial importance of the classical missions for the church worldwide,⁹ however, many new mission agencies were formed alongside or after the classical missions. These were not just additional missions, but missions of a new type or types. These new (that is, new type) missions are known as the 'post-classical missions'; they comprise the major subdivisions of evangelical missions and Pentecostal/Charismatic missions, each of which can be further subdivided. This book deals exclusively with the faith missions, but in order to perceive their characteristics clearly, faith missions must be seen in the overall context of the whole Protestant missionary movement.

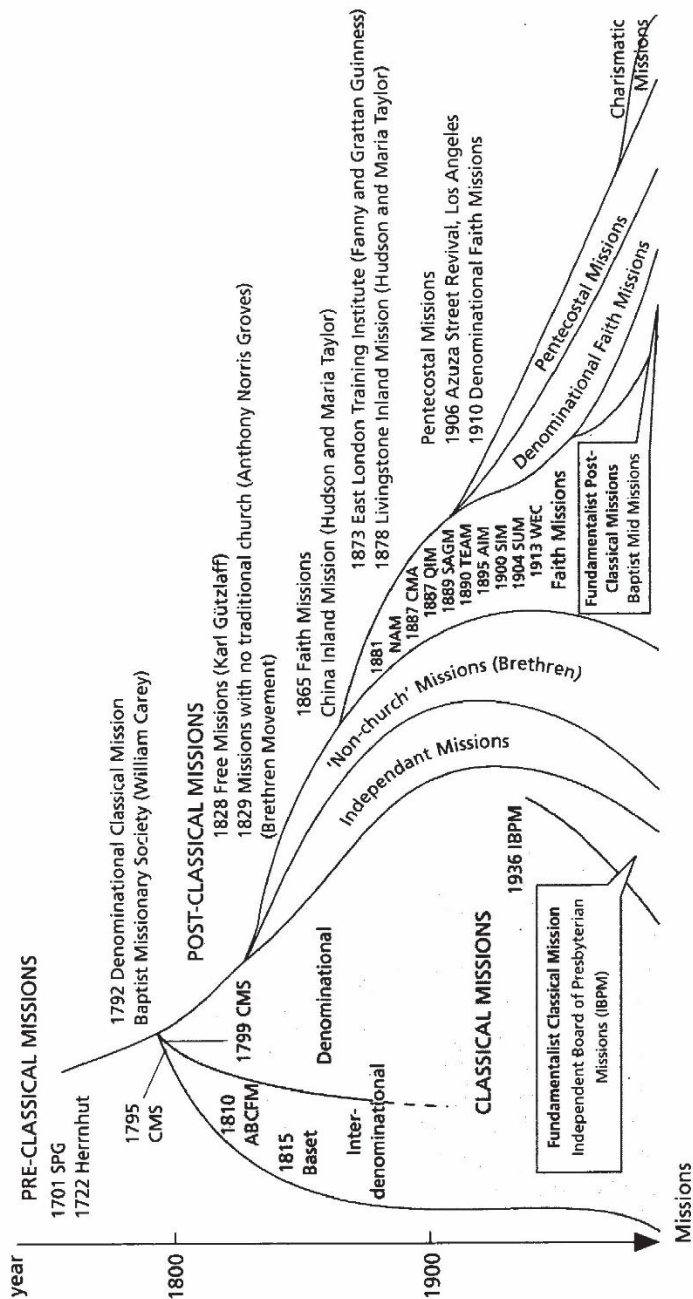
were all engaged in foreign missionary work and often followed the pattern of the Faith Missions, only that they were not interdenominational.

⁷ "In 1793, five years before the death of Schwartz, there landed in Calcutta William Carey, who was to begin a new era in Protestant missions, not only in India, but also in the entire world" (Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, Grand Rapids, Zondervan Edition ⁵1976 (1939/1967) III, 281).

⁸ William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligation of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen*, Leicester, 1792, especially 81ff.

⁹ See Andrew F. Walls, "Missionary Societies and the Fortunate Subversion of the Church", in *Evangelical Quarterly* 88:2 (1988), 141-155.

THE ORIGIN OF THE DIFFERENT PROTESTANT MISSIONARY MOVEMENTS



National Mission Associations

	ECUMENCIAL	EVANGELICAL	FUNDAMENTALIST	OTHERS
USA	DOM-NCCCUSA (Division of Overseas Ministries, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA) [Classical missions] No Pentecostal missions No double membership	IFMA (Inter-denominational Foreign Missions Association) [Only faith missions] EFMA (Evangelical Foreign Missions Association) [Denominational missions, including Pentecostal missions] Double membership IFMA and EFMA possible for faith missions	TAM-ICCC (The Associated Missions, International Council of Christian Churches) [denominational—'fighting fundamentalism'] FOM (Fellowship of Missions) ['quiet' non-denominational fundamentalism] Double membership of any kind not possible	A growing number of US missions are not members of any missions association, for example, Wycliffe Bible Translators, New Tribes Mission, Youth with a Mission
Canada	CCC-CWC (Canadian Council of Churches, Commission on World Concerns) [as USA]	As in the USA	Only TAM-ICCC has a Canadian member, World-wide Evangelical Mission	Similar to USA
Switzerland (German speaking)	Konferenz Evangelischer Missionen (KEM) [Classical missions and Kwango Mission]	Arbeitsgemeinschaft Evangelikaler Missionen (AEM) [Faith missions, no Pentecostal missions]		Few, for example, Evangelischer Brüderverein

	ECUMENICAL	EVANGELICAL	FUNDAMENTALIST	OTHERS
Great Britain	Conference for World Mission [Classical missions: denominational, interdenominational, specialized. No Pentecostal missions]	Evangelical Missionary Alliance (EMA) [Post-classical, except Brethren and Fundamentalist missions. Also Pentecostal missions]	Only two fundamentalist missions (one 'fighting', one 'quiet')	Some small missions (classical and post-classical)
	Three Anglican missions (CMS, SAMS and BCMS) and three specialized missions hold double membership			
Germany	Evangelisches Missionswerk (EMW) [Classical missions, one Pentecostal mission (Vereinigte Missionsfreunde)]	Arbeitsgemeinschaft Evangelikaler Missionen (AEM) [Faith missions, one classical mission (EBM), one non-church mission (Wiedenest)]	Bibeltreue Mission Weltweit (small)	Some faith missions and a growing number of Charismatic missions
France and French speaking Switzerland	Service Protestant de Mission et de Relations Internationales (Défap)	Fédération des Missions Evangéliques Francophones (FMEF) [Faith missions, one non-church mission, one charismatic mission, one classical specialized mission]		

	ECUMENICAL	EVANGELICAL	FUNDAMENTALIST	OTHERS
Netherlands	Nederland's Zendingraad [Classical missions, mostly denominational, no Pentecostal missions]	Evangelische Zendingen Alliantie (EZA [Faith missions, Pentecostal missions, no non-church missions, no denominational evangelical missions])		Few missions
Sweden	Svenska Missionsrådet [Classical and post-classical missions. New international missions partly as observers (1986)]			Few missions, especially new international faith missions
Norway	Norsk Missionrådet			Moratorium for accepting new missions as members (1986)
Denmark	Dansk Missionsråd [Classical and post-classical missions]			One-fifth of all missions (of various types)
Finland	Finnish Missionary Council [Classical missions, Pentecostal missions, faith missions]			
Nigeria		Nigeria Evangelical Missionary Alliance (NEMA) [Faith missions, denominational evangelical, independent and Charismatic missions]		

A historical typology of the Protestant missionary movement

TYPE OF MISSION	OLDEST MISSION	IMPORTANT MISSION	NAME	FORM OF ORGANIZATION	POSITION	FINANCE	SPIRITUAL MOVEMENT
Pre-Classical	[SPCK 1699] [SPG 1701]	Dänisch Hallesche 1706 Moravians 1732		Individual enterprises Colonial missions State directed	Employed	State support, contributions	Pietism Reformation
Classical Denominational	Baptist Missionary Society 1792 (Carey)	Church Missionary Society (CMS) 1799 Methodist Missionary Society 1813 [1786]	Name indicating origin, mostly denominational	Missions societies Rarely mission departments of churches	Employed	Gifts, memberships fees	Revival of the late 18 th and early 19 th century
Classical Interdenominational	[London] Missionary Society 1795	ABCFM 1810 Basel 1815 Paris 1819 Barmen 1828	Name indicating geographical origin	Mission society	Employed	Gifts, memberships fees	Revival of the late 18 th and the early 19 th century
Classical Specialized	Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society 1841	BMIMF 1852 WUMS 1860 Ludhiana F. 1894	Job-oriented names	Mission society	Employed	Gifts	Revival of the late 18 th and the early 19 th century

TYPE OF MISSION	OLDEST MISSION	IMPORTANT MISSION	NAME	FORM OF ORGANIZATION	POSITION	FINANCE	SPIRITUAL MOVEMENT
Classical Fundamentalist	Association of Baptists for World Evangelism 1927	Independent Board of Presbyterian Missions 1933	Denominational names, with fund indicator	Mission departments, mission societies	Employed	Gifts, contributions of churches	'Fighting fundamentalism', mainly in the United States
Free Missions	Karl Gützlaff 1828	Hudson Taylor 1857 David Livingstone 1852	Often geographical aim	Individual enterprises	Completely independent	Earnings, private property, gifts	Revivals of the 19 th century
Non-Church Missions	Norris Anthony Groves' in Baghdad 1829	[Echoes of Service] (1872) CMMML Wiedenest	Geographical aim, general Christian names	Individual enterprises. De facto organization by a magazine	Independent	'Faith support' gifts	Brethren movement (since about 1825) *as part of the Restorationist Revival
Faith Mission	China Inland Mission 1865	LIM 1878 [RBMU] NAM 1881 CMA SIM 1900 SUM 1904 WEC 1913 Neukirchen 1882	Most geographical aim	Mission societies, often with characteristics of an order	Members of the mission	'Faith support' gifts	Revival of the second half of the 19 th century, Holiness movement, Brethren Movement, Prophetic (premillennialist)
Pentecostal Missions	Apostolic Faith Mission 1907	Assemblies of God Mission 1908 Zaire Evangelistic Mission 1915	Often denominational name of origin, partly geographical aim	Mission societies partly similar to faith missions	Mostly members of the mission	Gifts, often 'faith support', partly denominational support	Pentecostal movement since 1900-06

TYPE OF MISSION	OLDEST MISSION	IMPORTANT MISSION	NAME	FORM OF ORGANIZATION	POSITION	FINANCE	SPIRITUAL MOVEMENT
Post-classical Denominational	Evangelical Free Church (USA) 1887	Evangelical Congregational Church 1922	Denominational name of origin	Mission departments of churches	Varied	Gifts, contributions of churches	Evangelical denominations, often from revival of second half of 19 th century
Post-classical Fundamentalist	Not clear	WEF ministries Sahara Desert M.	Geographical aim	Mission society, partly independent tendency	Members, independent	Gifts	'Quiet' non-denominational fundamentalism
Charismatic	Not yet clear	Globe Missionary Evangelism 1973 WE GO 1974	General names, often worldwide	Mission societies	Varied	Gifts	Charismatic movement since about 1960

The Pre-Classical Missions

Because the pre-classical missions relate little to the topic of this book, they will not be further subdivided. The first pre-classical mission to gain literary prominence, though no measurable success, was that of the Austrian exile Justinian von Welz (1764).¹⁰ Two of the pre-classical missions still exist: the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG, 1701)¹¹ and the Moravian Mission (Unitas Fratrum, 1732). In another case, a church resulting from such a mission is still in place, though the mission no longer exists (Danish-Hallesche Mission, 1706).¹²

The three missions mentioned above all have their origin in Pietism/ Puritanism, the first great revival movement after the Reformation. The SPG, with its Royal Charter, and the Dänisch-Hallesche Mission were closely bound to the state, whereas the Moravian Mission was part of what became a very peculiar Free Church, originating from one local congregation. They were all, in one way or another, clearly related to a denomination or a group of related denominations. Today they belong to ecumenical mission councils and have largely conformed to the patterns of the classical missions.¹³

The Classical Missions

The first subdivision of the classical missions comprises the denominational missions, whose names normally indicate their denominational origin.

¹⁰ Fritz Laubach, "Justinian von Welz—Leben und Werk", 14ff., in Fritz Laubach (ed), *Justinian von Welz*, Wuppertal/Zürich, 1989, 7-32.

¹¹ Today, United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In 1965, it merged with Universities Mission to Central Africa (1857); in 1968, with Cambridge Mission to Delhi (1877).

¹² * Daniel Jeyaraj, *Inkulturation in Tranquebar. Der Beitrag der frühen Dänisch Halleschen Mission zum Werden einer indisch-einheimischen Kirche (1706-1730)*, Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1996.

¹³ *The Moravians, in cooperation with the Berlin Mission, in 1891 planned their work north of Lake Nyasa with the aim, not of just winning individuals for the Lord, but with the aim of a folk church (Volkskirche), thus conforming to the pattern of the classical German missions.

These denominational Missions were almost always organized independently of any church, but were nevertheless strongly related to one church or to a small group of churches of the same type, which ordained the missionaries. The concept of unity was corporate—the point of reference was the church as a corporate body, not the individual's faith.

The missions were organized as voluntary associations in which every member other than the missionaries—to whom the principle of voluntary association did not apply because they were employed by the mission—had a say.¹⁴

Today, most classical missions have an ecumenical tendency and belong to their respective mission associations. However, there are also some classical denominational missions (especially in the United States) which, like the church they are related to, are definitely evangelical in theology.¹⁵

During the past decades, nearly all classical denominational missions have been integrated into and brought under the control of their respective churches. Such integration guaranteed considerable financial support from the churches' regular income. In most of the classical denominational missions, the number of missionaries has declined over the same period.

The second subdivision of the classical missions comprises the inter-denominational classical missions, the first of which was the London Missionary Society (1795). All the early German, and most continental, missions were of this type. They can be recognized by their names, which contain an element indicating the geographical origin, for example, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810), Evangel-

¹⁴ Therefore, the organizational principle of the early classical missions has been termed 'voluntary absolutism' (Peter Hinchliff, "Voluntary Absolutism: British Missionary Societies in the Nineteenth Century" in W.J. Sheils und Diana Wood, *Voluntary Religion*, London, 1986, 363-379).

¹⁵ A prominent example in this respect are the (American) Southern Baptists.

ische Missionsgesellschaft in Basel (1815), Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris (1822),¹⁶ or Ostfriesische Missionsgesellschaft (1834).¹⁷

All interdenominational classical missions worked vicariously for churches (mostly territorial folk-churches) practicing infant baptism. Their missionaries, like those of the denominational missions, were ordained by one of the churches to which the respective mission was related. Missionaries from churches with believers' baptism were not welcome.

All classical interdenominational missions underwent a quick process of denominationalization, so that it is no longer useful to differentiate between denominational and interdenominational classical missions. All interdenominational classical missions today belong to ecumenical mission associations.

A separate subdivision must be accorded to the specialized classical missions, the first of which was the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society (1841),¹⁸ followed by the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, also founded in Edinburgh eleven years later.¹⁹ In the United States, one of the very early specialized missions was the Woman's Union Missionary Society of America, founded in 1861 as a protest against male restrictions on the involvement of women in missions.²⁰ These specialized missions hold a special position. They were less concerned with doctrine, so they could be more widely interdenominational, and they also offered more scope for

¹⁶ The early leaders of the Paris Mission were Reformed, Lutheran and Congregationalist. (Burton L. Goddard [ed.], *The Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Mission. The Agencies*, Camden, NJ et al., 1967, 590f).

¹⁷ This name pattern equally applied to Scandinavia, where the missions right from the beginning were *de facto* Lutheran: Danske Missionsselskab (1821); Svenska Missionssällskapet (1836); Norske Misjonsselskap (1842); and Suomen Lähetyseura/Finska Missionssällskapet (1859).

¹⁸ *www.emms.org; <http://www.lifeandwork.org/features/features/view/224-175-years-of-mission-and-medicine>; wiki: "EMMS International."

¹⁹ Since 1989, called Interserve. Before that, Bible and Medical Missionary Fellowship (BMMF). Since 1952, men can become members. BMMF has experienced considerable growth.

²⁰ *wiki: "Woman's Union Missionary Society of America for Heathen Lands."

individualism. In both respects, they served to some extent as an example for faith missions. Nevertheless, the example could operate the other way as well, as can be seen with the two last-mentioned missions which, in the course of their history, accepted the principles of faith missions and joined the same mission associations as they did. The Chinese Evangelization Society, the precursor of the CIM, can best be understood as a classical specialized mission, because its aim, unlike that of the classical missions, was not to start churches, but ('only') to evangelize the whole of China by means of Chinese evangelists combined with the extensive use of Christian literature.

During the second generation of the classical missionary movement, two missions were founded which were, to some extent, precursors of the later faith missions. The Gossner Mission (1836) later became a regular classical mission,²¹ but when it started, its missionaries—like those of the independent missions—felt their work to be subject to God alone. Nonetheless, Johannes Evangelista Gossner, the founder of the Gossner Mission, developed a style of authoritarian leadership strongly reminiscent of the role of the early faith mission founders and leaders.²² The other mission which may have served, at least in one aspect, as an example for faith missions was the Pilgermission St Chrischona (1840) which, for its missionary work along the 'Apostles' Road' from Jerusalem to Ethiopia, consciously employed only 'craftsmen missionaries'.²³ Craftsmen missionaries were not ordained but were missionaries in their own right, whereas in most classical missions, unordained missionaries were only assistants to

²¹ Walter Holsten, *Johannes Evangelista Gossner. Glaube und Gemeinde*, Göttingen, 1949, 158ff.

²² In faith missions, the Gossner Mission is sometimes seen as a precedent. Rowland Bingham, for example, writes: "Gossner and Harms were the fathers of the 'Faith Mission' movement which really emanated from Germany" (*The Missionary Witness*, October 1914, 293). But no trace of direct influences could be found, although remote literary influences do not seem impossible.

²³ *Jan Veenhof, "Die Apostelstrasse," in J. van den Berg and J.P. van Dooren (eds), *Der Pietismus und Reveil: Referate der internationalen Tagung "Der Pietismus in den Niederlanden und seine internationalen Beziehungen"*, Zeist, 18.-22. Juni 1974, Leiden: Brill, 1978, 352-363.

those missionaries who were ordained. In faith missions, unordained missionaries were usually accorded equal rights to those who were ordained.²⁴

It was only in the 1930s that the classical missionary movement gave birth to another subdivision, the fundamentalist classical missions. These missions were born in enmity and strife about proper theology within the classical denominations but, as their organizational structures show, they are children of the denominational variety of the classical missionary movement.²⁵ In all cases, they separated from classical missions. They number barely a dozen. Today (1986), they usually belong to a fundamentalist mission association (The Associated Missions of the International Council of Christian Churches (TAM-ICCC)) and refuse to cooperate with any other group, whether 'ecumenical' or 'evangelical'.²⁶ Their concept of unity is based on separation—the precondition for any cooperation is a far-reaching agreement on the interpretation of the Bible and a strict separation from all individuals who do not adhere to the same convictions and from all corporate entities (such as churches, missions and so on) that are in fellowship with individuals or groups of different convictions ('second degree separation').²⁷

²⁴ *For an overview of Chrischona history see: www.relinfo.ch/chrischona/infotext.html.

²⁵ A typical case in point is the Independent Board for Presbyterian Missions which was founded in 1933 by Gresham Machen in protest against Presbyterian 'modernism' (details: *EMCM*, 323f.). This led to his, and Carl McIntire's, expulsion from the Presbyterian Church in 1936; they then established the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, which Carl McIntire left in 1937 to begin the even more fundamentalist Bible Presbyterian Church (Constant H. Jaquet (ed), *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches 1986*, Nashville, 1985, 79). Both churches have remained small.

²⁶ *iccc.org.sg; wiki "International Council of Christian Churches."

²⁷ Second-degree separation today is the main yardstick with which to separate fundamentalists and evangelicals. Evangelicals separate themselves individually from what they consider wrong teaching. Fundamentalists demand corporate separation from any corporate structure contaminated by wrong doctrine, compromise, pluralism and/or the World Council of Churches.

Precursors of the faith missions

1836	Gossner Mission
1841	Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society
1840	(1856) Pilgermission St Chrischona
1852	Zenana, Bible, and Medical Mission, or Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society
1856	Ermeloosche Zendingsgemeente (until 1862, auxiliary of the Rhenish Mission, then independent)
1860	Woman's United Missionary Society
1862	Scripture Gift Mission

The Post-Classical Missions: The China Inland Mission was started in 1865, it was not the first post-classical mission, though it was to become the most influential. Two smaller post-classical missionary movements preceded it and provided innovative ideas: that is the independent missions and the non-church missions.

The independent missions accepted no human authority beyond their own and were responsible to no church or mission.²⁸ They usually consisted only of the founder, members of his family (if the founder was a man) and perhaps a limited number of co-workers. The continuity of an independent mission was limited, especially after the founder died or left the mission field. The independent missionaries' financial support came from what they earned, possibly from a secular job or as traders; sometimes they were people of independent means, and often they received support from friends at home.

The independent missions served as an example for faith missions insofar as, for them too, God's individual call was the starting point of their missiology. But this conviction was not opposed to effective and, if

²⁸ George Müller's attitude here is typical: "I further had a conscientious objection against being led and directed by men in my missionary labours. As a servant of Christ, it appeared to me, I ought to be guided by the Spirit, and not by men, as to time and place" (George Müller, *A Narrative of Some of the Lord's Dealings with George Müller Written by Himself*, 9th edn, London, 1895, ¹1837, 50f).

necessary, far-reaching organization, nor to the establishment of permanent structures.

Independent missions are prone to fluctuation and change. Quite a number of them, originally conceived as independent missions, soon turned themselves into faith missions and developed the necessary organizational structures. The first important faith mission missionary was Karl Gützlaff (1803-51), a German Lutheran²⁹ who, in 1828, left the Nederlandsch Zendinggenootschap because his mission did not agree to his work among the Chinese in Indonesia. Gützlaff usually earned his support by working for a government. To help him to extend his work, the Chinesische Stiftung was founded in Kassel in 1846.³⁰ A similar society, the Chinese Evangelization Society (CES), was founded in 1849 in Tottenham, London.³¹ In 1854, Hudson Taylor started his missionary career as a member of this specialized mission. In 1857, he left the mission to become an independent missionary, though remaining on good terms with the mission throughout its existence.³²

When Hudson Taylor became an independent missionary, he took the decision to expect his support only 'as answer to prayer in faith.'³³ By so deciding, he followed the innovative 'faith principle' of the non-church missions which, originating from the Brethren movement, came into

²⁹ Early monographs were Herman Schlyter, *Karl Gützlaff als Missionar in China*, Lund 1946; *Der China-Missionar Karl Gützlaff und seine Heimatbasis. Studien über das Interesse des Abendlandes an der Mission des China-Pioniers Karl Gützlaff und über seinen Einsatz als Missionserwecker*, Lund, 1976.

³⁰ For a detailed history of the Chinesische Stiftung see Günter Bezzenberger, *Mission in China. Die Geschichte der Chinesischen Stiftung*, Kassel, 1979. The Chinesische Stiftung was no classical mission, because Gützlaff stood in no official relationship to it.

³¹ For the British organizations supporting Gützlaff, and for an evaluation of their work from the view point of CIM/OMF, see: A.J. Broomhall, *Barbarians at the Gates*, London/ Sevenoaks, 1981, 323-349.

³² James Hudson Taylor, *Retrospect*, London, ¹⁸1974, 95f (¹1894); see A.J. Broomhall, *If I had a Thousand Lives*, Sevenoaks, 1982, 31, 34f.

³³ James Hudson Taylor, *Retrospect*, London, ¹⁸1974, 95f.

existence at about the same time as the independent missions.³⁴ The first non-church missionary was Anthony Norris Groves (1795-1853),³⁵ who went with his party to Baghdad in 1829.³⁶ Originally Groves, a self-employed dentist, wanted to work with the CMS; however, shortly before he was due to travel, he severed his connection to the CMS because he could not agree to being ordained by any denomination.³⁷ Soon after leaving the CMS, he became convinced that no ordination at all was necessary.³⁸ The Brethren did not see themselves as a church but as a movement, trying to achieve 'the unity of all believers' from all denominations and beyond all denominations.³⁹ Movements of this kind can be called non-denominational, which

³⁴ An informative and scholarly book on the Brethren Movement is Frederick Roy Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement. Its Origins, its Worldwide Development and its Significance for the Present Day*, Exeter, 1968.

³⁵ *For a recent scholarly study of Groves see: Robert Bernard Dann, *Father of Faith Missions. The Life and Times of Anthony Norris Groves*, Waynesboro/Milton Keynes, 2004.

³⁶ Anthony Norris Groves, *Memoir of Anthony Norris Groves, Compiled Chiefly From his Journals and Letters, to Which is Added a Supplement, Containing Recollections of Miss Paget, and Accounts of Missionary Works in India, etc.* By his widow, London, ³1869. His biography is G.H. Lang, *Anthony Norris Groves*, London, 1949.

³⁷ Anthony Norris Groves, *Memoir*, 42.

³⁸ "One day the thought was brought to my mind, that ordination of any kind to preach the gospel is no requirement of scripture. To me it was a removal of a mountain" (Anthony Norris Groves, *Memoir*, 42).

³⁹ *A very similar position was held by the Churches of Christ. Together with the Brethren they were part of the Restorationist Revival (Klaus Fiedler, "A Revival Disregarded and Disliked" [A proposal to recognize the Restorationist Revival in the Writing of Mission and Church History] in Klaus W. Müller (ed), *Mission in fremden Kulturen*. Nürnberg: VTR, 2003, reprinted in: Klaus Fiedler, *Conflicted Power in Malawian Christianity. Essays Missionary and Evangelical from Malawi*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2015, 299-320.

means that they do not see themselves as a denomination, although to the outsider they seem to behave quite like one.⁴⁰

The Brethren and, with it, the non-church missions are evangelical in piety,⁴¹ but they are not included among faith missions because they are not interdenominational.⁴² Because the Brethren do not ordain, ordination has no role in the non-church missions either. Non-church missions do not usually join mission associations,⁴³ but they do not refuse to cooperate with other evangelical missions.

Faith missions absorbed basic ideas from the independent missions (the concept of direct and individual responsibility to God) and from the non-church missions (the concept of 'faith support'). Although they can rightly be seen as successors to these two movements, it is more appropriate to understand them not as continuing these movements but as a correction of their basic shortcoming: lack of organization and missionary effectiveness.

A somewhat later development among the post-classical missions are the post-classical denominational missions. These missions are closely related

⁴⁰ An example is the Non-Church Movement in Japan. See: Hannelore Kimura-Andres, *Mukyokai*, Erlangen, 1988.

⁴¹ The missionary work of the Brethren is described in W.I. Stunt, *Turning the World Upside Down*, Eastbourne, 1972. For Brethren influences on Hudson Taylor and the founders of the North Africa Mission, see 31.

⁴² Seen from the point of view of the more exclusive section of the Brethren Movement, even CIM is not a 'pure' mission because it has organizational structures which a 'purely Scriptural' mission is supposed not to have (G.H. Lang, *Anthony Norris Groves*, London, 1949, 18f).

⁴³ An important exception is Missionshaus Bibelschule Wiedenest (*now Forum Wiedenest). Ernst Schrupp, its founder, was strongly influenced by interdenominational movements such as Youth for Christ and (International Fellowship of Evangelical Students (IFES), and he tried to combine the strong concept of the local church as the sending agency with effective organization, as he learned it from the faith missions (Ernst Schrupp, "Die gemeindliche Sendung" in *Evangelikale Missiologie* 1/1987, 10-14.). Also important was his participation in the Youth for Christ 1948 Conference for World Evangelization at Beatenberg Bible School (Interview Ernst Schrupp, 12.10.1987).

to one Free Church which originated in an interdenominational faith mission; were strongly influenced by the concepts of the faith missions; or belong to a church which, like the Evangelical Free Church of America,⁴⁴ originated in the Great Revival of the second half of the nineteenth century. Missions of this type are mainly found in the United States.

A special group among the post-classical missions are the fundamentalist post-classical missions. Unlike faith missions, they are not interdenominational, but non-denominational. They do not accept the Denominations and either ignore or (very often) oppose them. In common with the classical fundamentalist missions, they demand second degree separation. They differ from the classical fundamentalist missions in that they did not originate in a quarrel for supremacy within a classical denomination. They are not 'fighting fundamentalists' but originated in a somewhat later movement of independent fundamentalist congregations. They did not fight for correct doctrine and supremacy in the denominations, but withdrew from them—not as a group, but individually. Therefore, they may be called 'quiet fundamentalists' and their tendency is known as 'non-denominational fundamentalism.'

The Pentecostal and Charismatic Missions

Faith missions, new and revolutionary as they were, did not remain forever 'new.' Just as the as the 1859/1873 revival⁴⁵ had produced a new type of missions, so did the next great revival crisscross the Protestant Denominations. The Pentecostal movement originated in 1900 in Topeka, Kansas,⁴⁶ but only gained worldwide influence after the Los Angeles Azusa Street

⁴⁴ Founded in 1884 as the Swedish Evangelical Free Mission, later renamed Swedish Evangelical Free Church and, after union with the Evangelical Free Church Association (originally Norwegian and Danish Free Church Association), Evangelical Free Church of America (Frank S. Mead and Samuel S. Hill, *Handbook of Denominations in the United States*, Nashville, ⁸1985, 113).

⁴⁵ *The Second Evangelical Awakening or the Holiness Revival.

⁴⁶ Walter J. Hollenweger, *Enthusiastisches Christentum. Die Pfingstbewegung in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Zürich/Wuppertal, 1969, 21ff.

Revival in 1906.⁴⁷ Pentecostal missions have existed since at least 1907. They are basically evangelical in piety but have a distinct theology of their own, concentrating on spiritual gifts and the 'full gospel.' Speaking in tongues is usually seen as the 'initial sign' of being filled with the Spirit.⁴⁸ Their theological background is Arminian rather than Calvinist, whereas faith missions, strongly influenced by Arminianism as they were, drew their main support from Calvinist denominations. In the mission field, Pentecostal missions often cooperate with faith missions, and in some countries, they belong to the same mission association.⁴⁹ Most Pentecostal missions are denominational, but there are interdenominational missions in which Christians from various Pentecostal denominations cooperate. Youth With A Mission (YWAM, 1960), a specialized Pentecostal mission,⁵⁰ outgrew the limits of Pentecostalism and now includes even Lutheran branches (in Scandinavia). There is even one Pentecostal faith mission,⁵¹ but, in general, the Pentecostal missions are a quite distinct type of mission, though they have not formed their own mission associations.⁵²

⁴⁷ Frank Bartleman, *Azusa Street*, Logos International, 1980 (includes Frank Bartleman, *How 'Pentecost' came to Los Angeles—How It Was in the Beginning*, 1925).

⁴⁸ *Over the last decades more of a Pentecostal theology of missions developed. A good Introduction is Grant McClung (ed), *Azusa Street and Beyond*, Gainesville, FL.: Bridge – Logos, 2006 ²2012; for current perspectives see: Allan Anderson, *Towards a Pentecostal Missiology for the Majority World*; Paper for the International Symposium on Pentecostal Missiology, Asia-Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio City, Philippines, 29-30 January 2003.

⁴⁹ For example, Nigeria, France and Britain, but not Germany, and usually not the United States.

⁵⁰ Loren Cunningham with Janice Rogers, *Is That Really You, God?* Lincoln, 1984.

⁵¹ The Örebro Missionsforening originated in the Holiness Movement and did not leave it after accepting Pentecostal doctrine.

⁵² A mine of information on Pentecostal missions is provided in Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee and Patrick H. Alexander (eds), *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, Regency Reference Library, Zondervan, Grand Rapids, ³1989 (1988) (*DPCM*).

The most recent worldwide renewal movement, which has touched most Protestant churches (and strongly influenced the Roman Catholic Church and Orthodox churches), was the Charismatic Movement, starting in about 1960. Because during its first decades the Charismatic Movement largely ran its course within the classical denominations, many missionaries who were influenced by this movement joined existing missions, including faith missions. Nevertheless, as more and more Charismatic denominations and independent congregations come into existence, a separate Charismatic missionary movement was being born. The United States is ahead in this, but the process has also started in Great Britain, and is beginning in Germany and elsewhere.⁵³

It is possible that the Charismatic Movement will develop a non-denominational bias,⁵⁴ but denominational and interdenominational developments also seem possible.⁵⁵ Though Charismatic theology is basically Pentecostal,

⁵³ Recently, attempts were made at Charismatic mission cooperation, for example, the North American Congresses on the Holy Spirit and World Evangelization (New Orleans, 1986, 1987) and the Association of International Mission Services, originating in a 1985 meeting at Christ for the Nations Institute in Dallas (Gary B. McGee, "Missions, Overseas (North American)" in Burgess, McGee and Alexander (eds), *DPCM*, Grand Rapids, 1988, 624).

⁵⁴ *Here the British "House Church Movement" could point the direction with its Brethren influence, but contrary to some scholarly expectations it has not become a dominant force (W. Davies, *Rocking the Boat. The Challenge of the House Churches*, Basingstoke 1986).

⁵⁵ *Twenty years later it is clear that, while all varieties remain, the Denominational variety has become dominant, at least in Africa. To differentiate this "second wave" from the (interdenominational) first wave, Felix Nyika calls the resulting churches Neo-Charismatic churches (Felix Nyika, *Apostolic Office in Malawian Neocharismatic Churches: A Contextual, Biblical-Theological, and Historical Appraisal*, PhD, University of Malawi, 2015). For a study of the Charismatic Movement in a West African country see: Bosco Bangura, *The Charismatic Movement in Sierra Leone (1980-2010): A Missio-historical Analysis in View of African Culture, Prosperity Gospel and Power Theology*, Evangelical Theological Faculty, Leuven, 2013; for Congo see: Kibutu Ngimbi, *Les Nouvelles Églises Indépendantes Africaines (NAIC). Un phénomène ecclésial observé au*

the Charismatic missions must be regarded as a separate missionary movement because they stem from a different revival movement and operate in a different historical context.⁵⁶

Identity, Unity and Separation

In this book, a clear distinction will be maintained between classical, evangelical and fundamentalist missions. Classical churches and missions tend to claim that the whole of the missionary spectrum rightly belongs to them, and they often see no real reason for the existence of 'all these new missions.'⁵⁷ Yet they have to accept the fact that, alongside them, there now exist missions with a different identity. Evangelical missions have their own identity, stressing the value of scriptures and emphasizing the need for evangelization and individual conversion.⁵⁸ That identity, however, allows quite some overlap and cooperation with the classical missions. In this respect, fundamentalists strongly differ from evangelicals: their identity is based on separation from all false doctrine and from all who do not separate themselves from people who hold false doctrines. Because of this, I differentiate between Evangelicals and Fundamentalists. Only those missions will be termed fundamentalist which use the term themselves or

Congo/Kinshasa et auprès de ses extensions en Europe occidentale, Evangelical Theological Faculty, Leuven, 2000.

⁵⁶ *For the situation in Malawi see: Klaus Fiedler, "The Charismatic and Pentecostal Movements in Cultural Perspective," in Klaus Fiedler, *Conflicted Power in Malawian Christianity. Essays Missionary and Evangelical from Malawi*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2015, 322-349; Rhodian Munyenembe, *Christianity and Socio-cultural Issues: The Charismatic Movement and Contextualization of the Gospel in Malawi*, Zomba: Kachere Series, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2011.

⁵⁷ This position was formulated frequently by Gustav Warneck, often called the 'father' of German Protestant Missiology.

⁵⁸ *For my position that the Evangelical missions did not separate from the classical missions but had their own origins, see: "The World Missionary Conference 'Edinburgh 1910' as Seen from Malawi", *Religion and Culture*, no. 1, 2013, 23-33; "Edinburgh 1910 and the Evangelicals", *Evangelical Theological Review*, 34/4 (Oct 2010). 53-71; "Edinburgh 1910, Africa 2010 and the Evangelicals," *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, xxxvi (3) Oct 2010, 53-71.

would not object to it being used of them. Fundamentalist missions do not cooperate with other missions, whether evangelical or ecumenical, and do not join the respective mission associations or Christian Councils.⁵⁹

Each group has a different concept of unity: for classical missions, it is corporate (organizations or churches trying to reach corporate unity); for faith missions, it is individual (individuals praying and working together irrespective of the corporate relationship of their churches); and for fundamentalist missions, it is separated (cooperation only with those who agree in doctrine and on separation).

⁵⁹ Often the term 'fundamentalist' is defined more loosely, for example by James Barr, *Fundamentalism*, London, 1977. Barr includes much of what I call 'evangelical' in his somewhat unspecific definition of 'fundamentalist.' He writes: 'There is a difficulty, in that American and British terms seem not to agree precisely. I am not sure where the American distinction between Evangelicals and Fundamentalists, as it is found in recent usage, lies in relation to my own following description. My impression is that both these terms are used in America to indicate a position more conservative or more extreme than is the common usage in Great Britain, so that fundamentalism as depicted here might fall into the more extreme segment of evangelicalism and the less extreme of fundamentalism, as the terms are used in the United States" (p. 6). Fundamentalism means, for Barr, "a certain basic personal religious and existential attitude ... which, when it appears, commonly appears within, and overlaps with, the ecclesiastical grouping known as 'conservative evangelical'" (p. 5).—Yet another definition of Fundamentalism which differs from mine is used by Stephan Holthaus, *Protestantischer Fundamentalismus in Deutschland—Geschichte und Erscheinungsbild*, Bonn, 1993. Whereas I use second-degree separation as the primary mark to define fundamentalism, he uses the adherence to Biblical inerrancy as the primary mark.

Chapter 2: A New Missionary Movement: The Early History of the Faith Missions

Origins and basic concepts of faith missions

It is the aim of this book to describe faith missions and their theology. Their theology will be deduced not from the comparatively few theological statements produced by faith missions, but from observing what faith missions do. To date, no overall history of the faith missions has been written. This book does not fulfill that role, either, but it aims to present an overview of the early development of faith missions insofar as they touched Africa. In order to facilitate a historical understanding, the China Inland Mission will be described in some detail, because all faith missions working in Africa trace their origin to the CIM. Because few early faith missions did not work in Africa, the picture presented here applies to faith missions in general. In order not to overburden the presentation, much factual information will be presented in tables and charts.

Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission

The most important person to leave his imprint on the faith missions was Hudson Taylor¹ (strongly supported by his wife Maria) who founded the

¹ The basic Hudson Taylor biographies are: Geraldine and Howard Taylor, *Hudson Taylor in Early Years. The Growth of a Soul*, London, 1911; *Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission. The Growth of a Work of God*, London, 1918 (17 editions, translated into six European languages, shortened one-volume version in 1965); John Pollock, *Hudson Taylor and Maria*, London, 1965; A. J. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century*, 7 vols: *Barbarians at the Gates*, 1981 (I); *Over the Treaty Wall*, 1982 (II); *If I had A Thousand Lives*, 1982 (III); *Survivors' Pact*, 1984 (IV); *Refiner's Fire*, 1985 (V); *Assault on the Nine*, 1988 (VI); *It is not Death to Die*, 1989 (VII). The only autobiographical piece is: James Hudson Taylor, *Hudson Taylor's 'Retrospect'*, London, 1894, ²1899, ³1903, ¹⁸1974. A piece of programmatic writing is: James Hudson Taylor, *China: Its Spiritual Need and Claims; With Brief Notices of Missionary Effort, Past and Present*, London, 1865, ²1866, ³1868, ⁵1884 (revised and enlarged), ⁸1890.

China Inland Mission² and thus defined the basic principles of a faith mission. During the history of the various faith missions, these principles underwent many changes, but they still remain valid as a yardstick. Hudson Taylor did not originally intend to found a new mission. He took this step only after all his attempts to entice the existing missions to increase considerably their efforts in the 'inland' of China, beyond the area of the treaty ports, had proved futile.³ Still, the reason for founding the CIM is not to be seen only as a result of the reluctance of the classical missions but equally as a result of Hudson Taylor's theological conviction that all who do not believe in Christ are eternally lost.⁴ Therefore, Christians must make every effort to present the gospel everywhere so that everyone has a chance to hear or read it and to accept Christ as their saviour.⁵ Parallel to this was his conviction that Christ's second coming will only take place after the gospel has been preached to all peoples. These two theological convictions demanded a quicker expansion of missionary work, more effective methods and (especially) much larger numbers of missionaries. His independent ecclesiastical position made it possible for Hudson Taylor to win many missionaries, to expand the missionary work and to try out new methods.

² For a CIM history see: Geraldine Guinness, *Story of the China Inland Mission*, London, 1894; Marshall Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission*, London, 1915.

³ "Not a few abortive efforts had resulted in a deep conviction that a special agency was essential for the evangelization of Inland China. The grave difficulty of possibly interfering with existing missionary operations at home was foreseen; but it was concluded that, by simple trust in God, a suitable agency might be raised up and sustained without interfering injuriously with any existing work" (Hudson Taylor, *Retrospect*, London, ¹⁸1974, 113).

⁴ This conviction is clearly expressed in: Hudson Taylor, *China; its Spiritual Need and Claims; with Brief Notices of Missionary Effort, Past and Present*, London, 1865, ²1866 ³1868, ⁵1884 (revised and enlarged) ⁸1890.

⁵ Klaus Fiedler, "Die Bedeutung der Einzigartigkeit Jesu Christi für die Theologie der evangelikalen Glaubensmissionen", in: Rolf Hille and Eberhard Troeger (eds): *Die Einzigartigkeit Jesus Christi als Grundfrage der Theologie und missionarische Herausforderung*, Wuppertal/Zürich: Brockhaus 1993, 153-166.

Born a Wesleyan Methodist, Taylor had joined the Brethren, who do not practice ordination, so it was possible for him to use 'laymen' as full missionaries—not, as in the classical missions, only as missionaries' assistants.

His Methodist background, strengthened by influences from the Holiness Movement, even allowed him to give 'laywomen' the right of full evangelistic service. Since Taylor did not feel bound to any ecclesiastical tradition, he was able to win missionaries from almost all Protestant churches, even from churches with opposing doctrines on baptism, such as Baptists and Presbyterians. His guiding theological principle was not dogmatic correctness but effective evangelism.

Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission	
1832	Hudson Taylor born to Methodist parents
1834	George Müller creates 'Scriptural Knowledge Institution of Home and Abroad'
1837	Maria Jane Dyer born
1844-50	Karl Gützlaff's 'Chinese Union', Hong Kong
1849	Hudson Taylor's conversion. Joins Methodist Church at Barnsley
1849	(2 December) Hudson Taylor's holiness experience
1850	H.T. and his parents decide for Free Methodists at the split of the Methodist Church at Barnsley
1851-52	H.T. joins Brethren at Hull, is baptized
1851	Karl Gützlaff dies at Hong Kong
1853	H.T. as missionary of the Chinese Evangelisation Society in China
1857	H.T. leaves CES and becomes a free missionary, receives some support from George Müller (Scriptural Knowledge Institution)
1858	Hudson Taylor and Maria Jane Dyer marry
1860	Hudson Taylor and Maria return to London
1864	(3 June) H.T. opens bank account for 'China Inland Mission'
1865	Founding of China Inland Mission
1866	Hudson Taylor meets Grattan Guinness
1866	First CIM party leaves on the Lammermuir
1866	H.T. baptizes three missionaries at Anjer (Java) on their request
1867	First convert baptized in China (in Hangzhou)
1870	Maria Taylor dies
1871	Hudson Taylor marries Jane E. Faulding
1872	Leadership in Britain passes from William Berger to the London Council
1874-75	Hudson Taylor severely ill
1875	CIM: twenty-eight missionaries in ten areas
1888	H.T. attends Moody's Northfield Conference
1888	CIM-North America started in Canada
1900	Boxer Rebellion
1905	Hudson Taylor dies at Changsha
1950	CIM decides to withdraw from China
1951	CIM decides to work in other countries of East Asia. HQ in Singapore
1951	CIM dissolves relationship to all associated missions
1964	CIM (now Overseas Missionary Fellowship) constituted as an international missionary fellowship with missionaries from all races and nations

The Principles of the China Inland Mission

1. The mission is interdenominational. Missionaries from all Protestant churches can become members if they agree to the simple statement of faith.
2. Church order is a secondary issue. Problems of church order may be solved in a pragmatic way.
3. Missionaries are not employees, but members of the mission.
4. Missionaries receive no salary but expect that God will supply their every need through the hands of his children ('faith principle').
5. Missionaries with any type of training are equally welcome.
6. There is no difference between ordained and unordained missionaries.
7. Wives are full missionaries and all possibilities open to men are open to them as well.
8. Single women have the same possibilities as men. They may work on their own as pioneer evangelists.
9. Missionaries identify as far as possible with the culture of their host country. As a sign of this identification they wear Chinese dress.
10. Missionaries must be willing to accept sacrifice and suffering.
11. In missionary work, evangelism takes precedence over institutional work.
12. It is the first priority of all evangelistic work to give everyone at least one chance to hear the Gospel. Therefore, evangelistic itineration must receive special attention.
13. Converts are to be joined into local congregations and to be used to further evangelism.
14. The mission is international.
15. Leadership is centralistic. The mission is field-directed. Home Councils are only to represent the mission in a given country, not to direct the mission.

The 'Guinness Missions'

The names of faith missions usually say much about where they were to work, and nothing about their origin or background—but much can be deduced from connections between their founders. Looking at their origins in this way, the centrality of Fanny and Grattan Guinness soon becomes obvious. The great majority of the early faith missions stood in some kind of relationship to them. These faith missions, therefore, together with the CIM, form the main body. Among the 'non-Guinness-related missions', those immediately obliged to the holiness movement form one group⁶⁵ and the other group comprises the industrial missions. They do not go back to Hudson Taylor, but to the Methodist holiness preacher (later Bishop) William Taylor (1821-1902); however, in the course of their history they conformed to faith mission principles.⁶⁶

Fanny and Grattan Guinness and the East London Training Institute

The transfer of the faith mission concept from China to Africa and beyond was effected by the Irish couple Fanny and Grattan Guinness.⁶⁷ Grattan Guinness was more the theologian, and he spread the idea of faith missions and of Missionary Training Institutes to the United States.⁶⁸ Fanny Guinness (née Fitzgerald) was more the organizer and mission leader.⁶⁹ Not only did they belong to the famous Guinness family (brewery, banking), but they

⁶⁵ For a comprehensive list, see: Charles Edwin Jones, *A Guide to the Study of the Holiness Movement*, Metuchen, NJ, 1974, 388-416.

⁶⁶ To be more exact, these missions might be termed 'industrial faith missions', because industrial missions also developed among the classical missions.

⁶⁷ As long as no monograph exists about Fanny and Grattan Guinness, its place must be taken by the excellent: Michele Guinness, *The Guinness Legend*, London *et al.*, 1990. It deals with all the many Guinnesses, but pays special attention to the mission Guinness, for which Michele Guinness used excellent sources, including Lucy Guinness' diary. See also the booklet: Lucy Guinness, *Enter Thou. Pages from the Life Story of Fanny E. Guinness*, London, 1899.

⁶⁸ Harry Guinness, *Not Unto Us. Record of Twenty-One Years' Missionary Service*, London, nd [1908].

⁶⁹ Michele Guinness - Klaus Fiedler, 2.2.1988.

even began a new branch of it: the mission Guinnesses.⁷⁰ They had personal contacts with most early faith missions, often family ties. This is brought out by the following chart.

Like Hudson Taylor, Grattan Guinness underwent a denominational change, in this case from Congregationalism to Brethren. He broke off training for the ministry at New College, Edinburgh; preached as an evangelist in Ireland; and, after refusing an offer for full-time service with the independent Moorefield Tabernacle in London, was sent out by the same as an itinerant interdenominational evangelist in 1857.⁷¹ During the 1858-59 revival, he worked successfully as an evangelist on both sides of the Atlantic. In 1865-1866, Fanny and Grattan Guinness settled for a time in Dublin, where Grattan organized, for ten young men, a course on the basics of the Christian faith. Part of his intention was to find out if, in the future, he should concentrate on training evangelists and missionaries.⁷² Grattan Guinness invited Hudson Taylor to give a guest lecture to this course. After the talk, four of the participants⁷³ and Fanny and Grattan Guinness, applied to join the CIM. Hudson Taylor told the Guinness couple that, being over 30 years of age, they would have problems in mastering a new language, so he asked them to remain in Britain and to train missionaries (not for him only)

⁷⁰ Grattan Guinness was a grandson of Arthur Guinness, the founder of the brewery. Harry, Geraldine and Lucy met with their brewing cousins regularly for social occasions when they were young. The new branch developed naturally when Grattan's father, Captain John, became evangelical and tee-total, so gradually their pathways parted. Today's prominent members of this branch are the missiologist Os Guinness and the writer Michele Guinness. For relationships between Grattan Guinness and the Brewery Guinness see: Michele Guinness, *Guinness Legend*, 48ff.

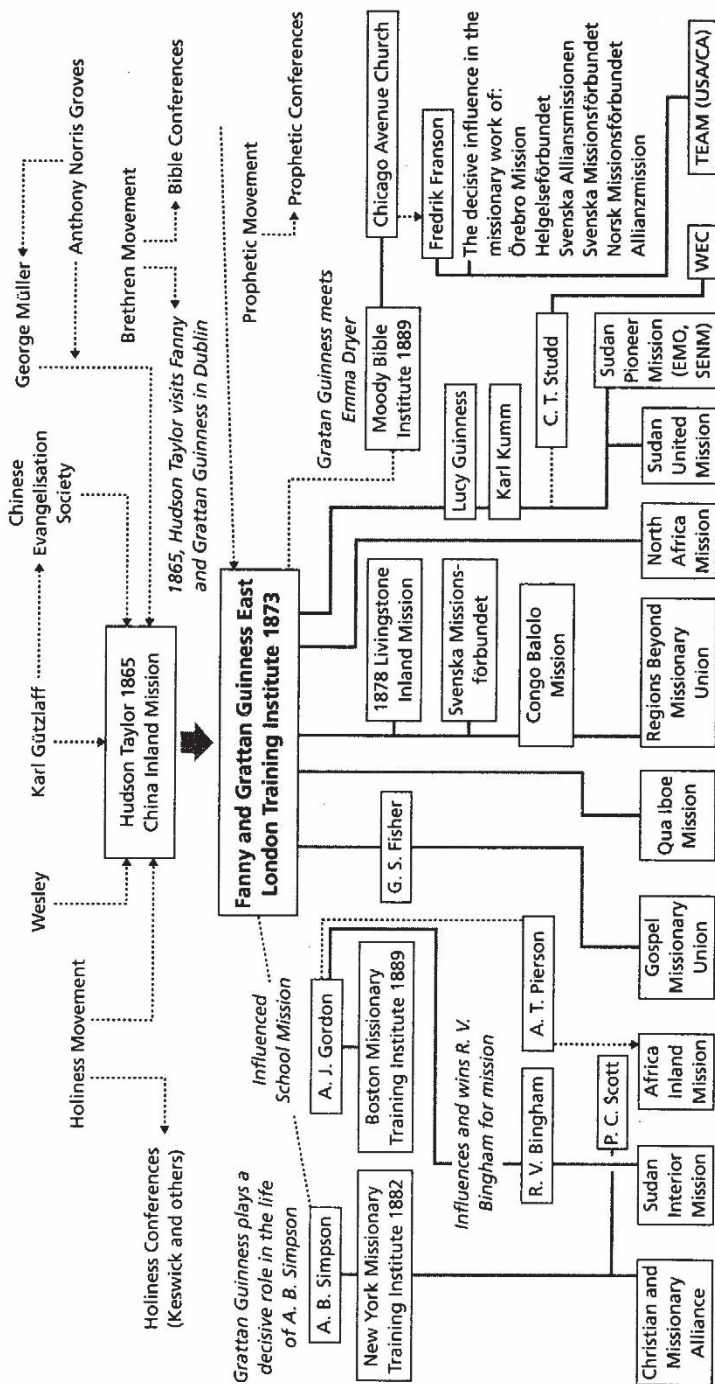
⁷¹ Fanny Guinness, *Enter Thou. Pages from the Life Story of Fanny E. Guinness*, 15f.

*Later Fredrik Franson was sent out similarly as an itinerant interdenominational evangelist by Chicago Avenue Church in 1888.

⁷² Michele Guinness, *The Guinness Legend*, London *et al.*, 1990, 80ff..

⁷³ McCarthy, Thomas Barnardo, Charles Fishe and probably Edward Fishe (A.J. Broomhall, *Survivors' Pact*, Sevenoaks/London 1984, 119). Charles and Edward Fishe and McCarthy

FANNY AND GRATAN GUINNESS AND THE FAITH MISSION MOVEMENT IN AFRICA—AN OVERVIEW



instead.⁷⁴ Fanny and Grattan Guinness were not convinced and went to Paris to do evangelistic work but, in the long run, Hudson Taylor's advice led them to found the East London Training Institute (ELTI) in 1873.⁷⁵ This was the first interdenominational mission training institute.⁷⁶

By 1887, more than five hundred young people had been trained at the ELTI, and about seventy of them had joined the CIM.⁷⁷ Four faith missions, closely related to the ELTI, came into existence. Two of them—the Livingstone Inland Mission (LIM, 1878-84)⁷⁸ and the Congo Balolo Mission (1889)⁷⁹—

joined the CIM. Thomas Barnardo, whom Hudson Taylor had asked to study medicine first, became so absorbed in looking after the homeless boys of London and in missionary work in Eastern London that he never reached China.

⁷⁴ Broomhall, *Survivors' Pact* 118-120. Elizabeth Pritchard, *For Such a Time as This, God's Faithfulness through the Regions Beyond Missionary Union for a Hundred Years*, Lottbridge Grove, 1971, 14. Of the Guinness children Geraldine and Whitfield joined the CIM.

⁷⁵ The archives of the RBMU have now been deposited with the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World at New College, Edinburgh. They include the extant archival material for ELTI, LIM and CBM.

⁷⁶ These institutes later became known as 'Bible Schools.' For this development see: Klaus Fiedler, "Aspects of the Early History of the Bible School Movement" in: Festschrift Donald Moreland: Marthinus W. Pretorius (ed), *The Secret of Faith. In Your Heart - In Your Mouth*, Leuven, 1992, 62-77; *reprinted in Klaus Fiedler, *Conflicted Power in Malawian Christianity. Essays Missionary and Evangelical from Malawi*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2015, 245-259.

⁷⁷ Until Glasgow Bible Training Institute was founded in 1892, there were hardly any alternatives to ELTI for students wishing to receive an interdenominational training. The first Head of Glasgow BTI was John Anderson, the founder of Southern Morocco Mission (Francis R. Steele, *Not in Vain. The Story of North Africa Mission*, Pasadena 1981, 127).

⁷⁸ Fanny Guinness, *The New World of Central Africa. With a History of the First Christian Mission on the Congo*, London 1890; Kenneth Holmes, *The Cloud Moves*, London ⁵1974(1963) 18ff; Elizabeth Pritchard, *For Such a Time as This*, 28ff.

⁷⁹ Holmes, *The Cloud Moves*, 23ff; Fanny Guinness, *The New World of Central Africa*, pp 461-487; Elizabeth Pritchard, *For Such a Time as This*, 28ff. C.W. Mackin-

were the direct responsibility of the ELTI. In 1887, at the suggestion of Grattan Guinness, one of his students, Samuel A. Bill, went to the Calabar Coast in Nigeria as an independent missionary, resulting in the establishment of the Qua Iboe Mission.⁸⁰ Due to a personal friendship, George Pearse and his wife contacted the Guinnesses. This led, in 1881, to the founding of the North Africa Mission (NAM), which today bears the name Arab World Ministries.⁸¹ Under the influence of Edward Glenny, the co-founder and long-term leader of the NAM, three smaller missions were founded: the Southern Morocco Mission, the Central Morocco (Medical) Mission and the Algiers Mission Band.⁸²

All these missions were interdenominational, but each had a different group of supporters: the main support of the Livingstone Inland Mission came from Wales;⁸³ the North Africa Mission received its strongest support from the Brethren movement; and the QIM received its main support from the interdenominational mission halls and YMCA groups in Presbyterian

tosh, *Dr. Harry Guinness. The Life Story of Henry Grattan Guinness*, London 1916, 37-47; AMZ 25(1898), 40f.

⁸⁰ Robert L. M'Keown, *Twenty-Five Years in Qua Iboe. The Story of a Missionary Effort in Nigeria*, London/Belfast 1912; Jean S. Corbett, *According to Plan. The Story of Samuel Alexander Bill, Founder of the Qua Iboe Mission*, Nigeria, Worthing² 1979 (1977). - *DACB: bill_samuelalexander. *quaiboechurchnig. wikifoundry.com.

⁸¹ Francis R. Steele, *Not in Vain. The Story of North Africa Mission*, Pasadena 1981; Edward H. Glenny; J. Rutherford, *The Gospel in North Africa*, London 1900. See also: John K. Cooley, *Baal, Christ and Mohammed. Religion and Revolution in North Africa*, New York/Chicago/San Francisco 1965.

⁸² Southern Morocco Mission (founder: John Anderson, (1888), 1892 principal of BTI Glasgow. For SMM history see: Steele, *Not in Vain*, 126-135), Algiers Mission Band (founder: Lilius Trotter (1888); Blanche A.F. Pigott, I. *Lilius Trotter. Founder of the Algiers Mission Band*, London/Edinburgh nd); Central Morocco Mission (founder: Dr. Kerr [1894]). Southern Morocco Mission [1961] and Algiers Mission Band [1964] joined NAM. Lilius Trotter influenced the founders of the Egypt General Mission (1897).

⁸³ The first secretary of the Livingstonia Inland Mission (1878-80) was the Baptist pastor Alfred Tilly of Cardiff. But the group around him was too small to support the LIM, which also needed a strong hand to guide it.

Northern Ireland, which had come into existence through the 1873 revival. The Congo Balolo Mission was, in some ways, successor to the Livingstone Inland Mission.

The Guinness family belonged to an independent congregation (Mission Hall) in East London.⁸⁴ In theological terms, they were still close to the Brethren, but had left them from a desire to give preference to missionary effectiveness over doctrinal correctness. Leadership of the ELTI was a family affair: Fanny managed the Institute, ran the LIM and was the mission writer. Grattan was the evangelist and teacher, and also one of the leading theologians and writers of the new Prophetic Movement. Their children shared in the work at the ELTI and in its outreach as soon as they could.⁸⁵ In addition, Lucy and Geraldine demonstrated that they had inherited their mother's literary gifts.⁸⁶

The ELTI played a double role: it was founded in 1873 as an independent missionary training institute, independent not only of any church, but also of any mission. When Fanny Guinness became responsible for the LIM, every student remained free to join the mission of their choice, even though the school had its own mission. This was an additional burden to the Guinnesses and could have led to divided loyalties among the supporters. This makes it understandable that Fanny Guinness, on learning that the

⁸⁴ At first Edinburgh Castle, Thomas Barnardo's Mission Hall in Stepney Green (Holmes, *The Cloud Moves*, 21), then Archibald Geikie Brown's East London Tabernacle, which was similar to Spurgeon's Metropolitan Tabernacle. Both congregations left the Baptist Union in the wake of the 'Down-Grade Controversy' in 1887. For the East London Tabernacle see: George E. Page, A.G.B., *The Story of the Life and Work of Archibald Geikie Brown*, London 1944. Already well before 1887 Spurgeon and his Tabernacle behaved pretty independently. A.G. Brown only supported faith missions, not the Baptist Missionary Society.

⁸⁵ Michele Guinness, *The Guinness Legend*, 128ff. Most important was Lucy, who was also influential in founding the Behar Mission (1898), the Sudan-Pionier-Mission (1900) and the Sudan United Mission (1902-04).

⁸⁶ Geraldine Guinness joined the CIM and became Hudson Taylor's biographer and daughter-in-law. Lucy (later Lucy Kumm) promoted mission work especially in Africa.

American Baptist Missionary Union would like to take over the recently started NAM work, suggested to Adoniram Judson Gordon that they take over the work of the LIM instead.⁸⁷ By handing over the LIM to the ABMU,⁸⁸ ELTI regained its full independence—only to give it up again in 1889 when Harry Guinness started the Congo Balolo Mission in order to continue the advance into the interior which the ABMU had promised to press for but had not achieved. ELTI became the pattern for many other institutes, and its importance for training missionaries cannot be underestimated, although its close relation to one mission was unusual.⁸⁹

Fanny and Grattan Guinness and the missions connected with them

1831	Fanny Fitzgerald born in southern Ireland
1835	Henry Grattan Guinness born in Cheltenham
1853	Grattan Guinness' conversion
1857	(29 June) Grattan Guinness ordained by the Moorefield Tabernacle (London) as a travelling interdenominational evangelist ⁹⁰
1857-60	Evangelistic work, in the context of the 1858/9 revival in North America, Great Britain and Ireland

⁸⁷ The NAM wanted to keep its identity. See: Fanny Guinness, *The New World of Central Africa*, 391. As to the facts, her account deserves precedence over that in the history of the ABMU (Robert G. Torbet, *Venture of Faith. The Story of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society and the Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society 1814-1954*, Philadelphia 1955, 321-323).

⁸⁸ Bror Walan, *Församlingstanken i Svenska Missionsförbundet*, Stockholm 1964, 512-521 "Interdenominalismens kris i Kongo-Missionen"; Fanny Guinness, "Transfer of the Congo Mission" in: *WWW* 1884, 148-150.

⁸⁹ When ELTI was closed, only the missionary work remained, which was bearing the name Regions Beyond Missionary Union and included missionary work in Peru and India (Kenneth Holmes, *The Cloud Moves*, London ⁵1974(1963); Elizabeth Pritchard, *For Such a Time as This*).

⁹⁰ *Frederick Franson received a similar commission from the (equally inter-denominational) Chicago Avenue Church in 1878.

1858	A.B. Simpson (Chatham, Canada, later founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance) experiences his conversion under the influence of Grattan Guinness
1860	Grattan Guinness marries Fanny Fitzgerald at Bath. Joins the Brethren movement
1866	The Guinnesses meet Hudson Taylor in Dublin
1867-72	Evangelistic work, especially in Paris
1870	Grattan Guinness turns from postmillennialism to a historical premillennial eschatology
1873	East London Training Institute, initially only for men.
1878	Livingstone Inland Mission (Congo)
1881	North Africa Mission
1881	Engvall becomes the first Swedish missionary (Svenska Missionsförbundet) of the Livingstone Inland Mission
1884	Fanny Guinness opens Doric Lodge for women
1884	LIM turned over to the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Union
1885	The Swedish LIM missionaries start their own mission: Svenska Missionsförbundet
1887	Qua Iboe Mission
1888	Lilias Trotter starts the Algiers Mission Band, influenced by Edward Glenny (North Africa Mission)
1888	John Anderson starts the Southern Morocco Mission, influenced by Edward Glenny (North Africa Mission)
1889	Harry Guinness starts the Congo Balolo Mission
1889	Grattan Guinness causes A.J. Gordon to start the Boston Missionary Training Institute
1889	Grattan Guinness assists Emma Dryer to organize the future Moody Bible Institute
1889	Grattan Guinness causes the founding of the Gospel Missionary Union's Sudan Mission, later to become the Sierra Leone Mission of the Christian and Missionary Alliance
1898	Fanny Guinness dies

1899	Grattan Guinness receives an honorary Doctorate of Divinity from Brown University, United States
1910	Grattan Guinness dies (the Edinburgh Conference expressed its appreciation for his work)
1910	C.T. Studd's journey to the South West Sudan, which leads to an expansion of CMS missionary work into that area
1912	C.T. Studd goes to Zaire as head of the 'Independent British Branch of the Africa Inland Mission'
1913	C.T. Studd begins the Heart of Africa Mission (Zaire) as nucleus of WEC (Worldwide Evangelization Crusade)
1915	Harry Guinness dies
1915	East London Training Institute finally closed
1931	WEC splits into Unevangelized Fields Mission and WEC
1931	C.T. Studd dies

A.B. Simpson and the Christian and Missionary Alliance

As a young man, A.B. Simpson,⁹¹ who was to found the Christian and Missionary Alliance,⁹² had experienced his conversion under the influence of Grattan Guinness, when he visited Canada.⁹³ A.B. Simpson started his career as a fully trained Presbyterian pastor but, through decisive contacts with the holiness movement and the healing movement, within sixteen years he

⁹¹ A.E. Thompson, *A.B. Simpson. His Life and Work* (originally *The Life of A.B. Simpson*, New York 1920), Camp Hill PA 1960; A.W. Tozer, *Wingspread. A Study in Spiritual Altitude*, Harrisburg 1943. For his theology see: David F. Hartzfeld; Charles Nienkirchen (eds), *The Birth of a Vision. Essays on the Ministry and Thought of Albert B. Simpson*, Regina 1986.

⁹² Robert L. Niklaus; John S. Sawin; Samuel J. Stoesz, *All for Jesus. God at Work in The Christian and Missionary Alliance Over One Hundred Years*, Camp Hill PA ²1988 (1986); for Canada see: Lindsay Reynolds, *Footprints. The Beginnings of The Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada*, Toronto 1981.

⁹³ A.E. Thompson, *A.B. Simpson. His Life and Work*, p. 26.

had become the pastor of the independent New York Gospel Tabernacle⁹⁴ and the founder of an interdenominational fellowship movement, the Christian Alliance. By 1882, he had already started to train missionaries in his newly founded church and, in 1883, he opened the New York Missionary Training College after the pattern of the East London Training Institute.⁹⁵

As a branch of his Tabernacle Church, A.B. Simpson started a mission with the far-flung name 'Missionary Union for the Evangelization of the World' which, in December 1884, sent its first (and only) missionaries to the mouth of the Congo.⁹⁶ This endeavour failed because of insufficient preparation and equipment. Only when the Christian Alliance, which he had founded as a fellowship movement to further Christian holiness and healing, at first hesitantly and then enthusiastically took up the missionary idea, could the Evangelical Missionary Alliance,⁹⁷ which he founded in 1887, become an effective worldwide mission.

By combining a fellowship movement (Christian Alliance) with his mission endeavour (Evangelical Missionary Alliance) in the Christian and Missionary Alliance he created an effective base drawing support from all of the USA and Canada. But it was not just a matter of organization—both groups had discovered new spiritual truths, the 'fourfold Gospel'.⁹⁸

A.B. Simpson united three elements, which repeatedly played an important role in the faith mission context: Bible school, fellowship movement and

⁹⁴ The beginnings Simpson describes in *WWW*, 1883, 45.

⁹⁵ Because of Simpson's close connections to Dr. Cullis he may also have been influenced by his small Bible school which existed from 1875 to 1892 (Niklaus/Sawin/Stoesz, *All for Jesus*, 283). Although I found many references to ELTI in early CMA sources, I found none to Dr. Cullis' school.

⁹⁶ For a good overview see: Cecilia Irvine, *The Church of Christ in Zaire. A Handbook of Protestant Churches, Missions and Communities, 1878-1978*, Indianapolis 1978, 63.

⁹⁷ November 1889 the name was changed to "International Missionary Alliance" to include Canada (Thompson, *A.B. Simpson*, 131).

⁹⁸ Fourfold gospel: Christ the Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer, Coming King. For an analysis see: J. Sawin, "The Fourfold Gospel" in Hartzfeld and Nienkirchen, *The Birth of a Vision*, 1-28.

mission. But he added one more element, which was not so common: an *independent* congregation. Although he did not expect others to follow his lead in this matter, he did provide a pattern for the changeover from fellowship movement to free church. For the CMA as a whole, this process took shape mainly during the first half of the 20th century, and the CMA is now a worldwide denomination.⁹⁹

US Initiatives and Grattan Guinness' Journey to the United States

When the doctors suggested to Grattan Guinness that he spend some time in a warmer climate, he took this advice as the occasion for a comprehensive journey to the United States in the interests of (faith) missions. His journey brought about three important developments for the faith missions. In Boston, he visited Adoniram Judson Gordon,¹⁰⁰ pastor of Clarendon Baptist Church and president of the American Baptist Missionary Union which, on Gordon's suggestion, had taken over the work of the Livingstone Inland Mission in 1884. It had not been able further to extend its missionary work upriver, because the mission could not find the personell. Grattan Guinness suggested that Gordon train the missionaries himself. Therefore, he opened the Boston Missionary Training College.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ It is often said that the CMA is a mission turned denomination. This is not correct, not the mission turned itself into a denomination, but the fellowship movement carrying the same name did so. This process took place at about the same time as when the Scandinavian fellowship movements became Denominations.

¹⁰⁰ His 'spiritual autobiography' is: A.J. Gordon, *How Christ Came to Church. The Pastor's Dream. A Spiritual Autobiography, With Life-Story by A.T. Pierson*, Philadelphia 1895. His biography is: Ernest B. Gordon, *Adoniram Judson Gordon. A Biography*, New York 1896. See also: George Gerald Houghton, *The Contribution of Adoniram Judson Gordon to American Christianity*, ThD Dallas Theol. Seminary 1970.

¹⁰¹ BMTC later developed into Gordon Divinity School (till 1967 more than 1000 of its students had become missionaries), today part of Gordon-Conwell University. To honour the 75th jubilee, Gordon Divinity School produced in 1967 *The Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Missions (EMCM)*, the only extant dictionary of all Protestant missions. (Burton L. Goddard, *The Encyclopedia of Modern Christian*

Later, Emma Dryer invited him to Chicago to help her organize the 'Bible Institute of the Chicago Evangelization Society' (later to become famous as the Moody Bible Institute).¹⁰²

A.B. Simpson and the Christian and Missionary Alliance

1843	Albert Benjamin Simpson born in Bayview near Chatham, Ontario, Canada
1858	Conversion under the influence of Grattan Guinness
1865	Pastor of Knox Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, Canada
1873	Pastor of Chestnut Street Presbyterian Church, Louisville, United States
1874	Contact to the Holiness Movement (evangelists Whittle und Bliss)
1877	A.B. Simpson wants to be a missionary to China
1879	Pastor of Thirteenth Street Presbyterian Church, New York
1880-81	Founder and editor of the illustrated missionary magazine <i>The Gospel in All Lands</i>
1881	New contact to the Holiness Movement (Dr Charles Cullis). Experiences dramatic healing
1881	Private (re-)baptism by the pastor of a small Italian Baptist Church in New York
1881	Gives up pastorate in the Presbyterian Church
1882	Founds the independent New York Gospel Tabernacle for evangelistic outreach
1882	Starts to train <i>missionaries</i> in the New York Gospel Tabernacle
1883	<i>Founds</i> New York Missionary Training College
1883	<i>Founds Berachah</i> ['blessing'] <i>Healing Home, New York</i>
1884	<i>Founds the Missionary Union for the Evangelization of the World</i>

Missions. The Agencies, Camden NJ et al. 1967). The dictionary greatly facilitated the research for this book.

¹⁰² Gene A. Getz, *Moody Bible Institute*, Chicago 1969. Most probably the MBI trained more faith mission missionaries than any other institute.

1884	Grattan Guinness speaks at the first missionary conference at the New York Gospel Tabernacle
1885	Failure of missionary work in Zaire after the death of John
1885	A.B. Simpson takes part in the International Conference for Holiness and Healing at Bethshan, London (Mrs Baxter)
1887	Founding of the Evangelical Missionary Alliance (for mission) and of the Christian Alliance (a fellowship movement)
1888	Missionary work in Zaire reopened
1889	Evangelical Missionary Alliance renamed International Missionary Alliance
1890	CMA begins missionary work in Sierra Leone ('Sudan mission') in cooperation with World's Gospel Union, Kansas
1890-92	Peter Cameron Scott, later founder of the Africa Inland Mission, CMA missionary in Vungu, Zaire
1897	International Missionary Alliance and Christian Alliance united as Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA)
1897	New York Missionary Training College relocated at Nyack
1907	The birth of the Pentecostal Movement brings about great turmoil in the CMA which leads to the loss of a third of the membership
1919	(29 October) A.B. Simpson dies.
1921	Margaret Simpson dies, the last remaining women in the CMA leadership.

A.J. Gordon and A.T. Pierson: Theologians and Publicists of the Faith Missions

1836	Adoniram Judson Gordon born at New Hampton
1837	Arthur Tappan Pierson born at New York
1850	A.T. Pierson's conversion. Joins Tarrytown Methodist Episcopal Church
1852	(14 March) A.T. Pierson member of Thirteenth Street Presbyterian Church New York, his home church
1857	A.T. Pierson finishes his studies at Hamilton College (Presbyterian)
1857-60	A.T. Pierson studies at Union Theological Seminary
1860	A.T. Pierson ordained at Thirteenth Street Presbyterian Church New York (later pastored by A.B. Simpson). Pastor of several Presbyterian congregations until 1889
1863	A.J. Gordon pastor in Jamaica Plain, Boston
1869	A.J. Gordon Pastor of Clarendon Street Baptist Church, Boston (until his death 1895)
1874	A.T. Pierson's decisive contact to the holiness movement (evangelists Whittle und Bliss). Sees evangelism as the major task of the church
1875	Gordon editor of <i>The Watchword</i>
1878	Start of a lifelong friendship between A.T. Pierson and George Müller
1885	A.T. Pierson, influenced by Webb-Peploe, joins the Holiness Movement (Keswick type)
1886	A.T. Pierson plays an important role in the birth of the Student Volunteer Movement at Moody's Northfield Conference. Most probably it was Pierson who coined the watchword 'The Evangelization of the World in this Generation'
1888	A.T. Pierson plays an important role in the birth of the Student Volunteer Movement at Moody's Northfield Conference. Most probably it was Pierson who coined the watchword 'The Evangelization of the World in this Generation'.

1888	A.J. Gordon Chairman of the American Baptist Missionary Board
1888	A.T. Pierson follows J.M. Sherwood as editor of the interdenominational missionary magazine <i>The Missionary Review of the World</i>
1888	A.T. Pierson participates in the London Missionary Conference
1889	A.T. Pierson pastor of Bethany Church in Philadelphia (originating from John Wanamaker's Bethany Mission)
1891	Gordon publishes: <i>The Holy Spirit in Missions</i> . Report of the First International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, Cleveland 1891
1891-92	A.T. Pierson temporary pastor of Spurgeon's independent London
and 1893	Metropolitan Tabernacle (Spurgeon dies 31 January 1892)
1891-95	Gordon Associate Editor of <i>The Missionary Review of the World</i>
1893	Gordon publishes <i>The Holy Spirit in Missions</i> (New York)
1895	A.T. Pierson supports the founding of the Africa Inland Mission by Peter Cameron Scott
1895	A.J. Gordon dies at Boston
1896	A.T. Pierson in England baptized by Baptists, but does not become a Baptist. Expelled from his presbytery, but remains (independent) Presbyterian
1897	A.T. Pierson returns to the United States
1897	A.T. Pierson encourages Hurlbert to take responsibility for the work of the AIM after Scott's death and the crisis among the missionaries
1897	A.T. Pierson joins the Holiness Movement
1903-05	Pierson in Wales, participates in the 1905 revival there
1909	A.T. Pierson participates the last time in the Keswick Conference
1911	(3 June) A.T. Pierson dies.

Fredrik Franson

1852	Fredrik Franson born at Nora, Sweden into a Lutheran family
1869	Emigrates with his parents to the United States
1872	Conversion at Estina, Nebraska
1874	Fredrik Franson and his parents members of Estina Baptist Church
1875	Fredrik Franson secretary of Scandinavian Baptist Conference of Nebraska, Western Iowa, and Dakota
1875-76	Most probably participates in Moody's interdenominational evangelistic campaigns in Brooklyn, Philadelphia and Manhattan
1876-77	Frederik Franson cooperates in Moody's interdenominational evangelistic campaigns in Chicago
1875-76	Fredrik Franson changes his concept of the church from Baptist to interdenominational and his eschatology from postmillennial to premillennial
1877	(February) Frederik Franson's first (interdenominational) evangelistic campaign (in Swede Band, Iowa)
1878	(4 August) Member of the interdenominational Chicago Avenue Church, Chicago, founded by Moody
1878	(4 August) Chicago Avenue Church makes Fredrik Franson a travelling evangelist
1879	Franson's first theological contribution to issues of church order
1881	(June) Start of his worldwide activities at Malmö, Sweden
1882	Visits London (May Meetings, Bethshan Home of Mrs Baxter). Begins his campaign for world missions. Contact with the Healing Movement.
1882	(11 May) Joins the British Branch of the Evangelical Alliance
1884	Fredrik Franson's first course for evangelists (in Oslo)
1884	Norske Misjonsförbundet founded at Oslo.
1884	Participates in the World Conference of the Evangelical Alliance in Copenhagen. There he meets Professor Christlieb, who invites him to Germany
1884	Expelled from Denmark because of his public healing activities, which he does not carry on after that

1884	Evangelical Free Church of America founded at Minneapolis. The process which led to this was influenced in its early phases strongly by Frederik Franson
1885	First visit to Germany
1886	First visit to Switzerland
1887	Helgelseförbundet founded at Kumla, Central Sweden
1887	Svensk Kinamisionen founded
1888	Danske Missionsförbundet founded at Odense
1888	Frederik Franson in Finland
1888	Founding of Mission Covenant in Finland
1889	Founding of Frie Østafrikanske Mission in Oslo (1899 taken over by Norsk Misjonsförbundet)
1889	Frederik Franson inspires the founding of the Deutsche China-Allianz-Mission in Barmen by Carl Polnick of Wuppertal
1890	Frederik Franson publishes in Emden <i>Weissagende Töchter</i> on the right of women to preach
1890	First contacts of the Deutsche China-Allianz-Mission to Switzerland, which later leads to the founding of an independent Schweizer Allianz Mission (1894 Franson in Switzerland)
1890	Fredrik Franson returns to the USA
1890	(14 October) First course for evangelists in the USA (Pilgrim Church, Brooklyn), which led to the founding of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America (later TEAM)
1892-93	Fredrik Franson seeks 200 missionaries for the CMA in China. Problems about cooperation with CMA
1894-95	Journey to India (Himalaya) and China
1895	Finnish Alliance Mission (later Vapaakirkko)
1897	Swedish Mongol Mission
1897	Frederik Franson writes <i>Himlauret (The Heavenly Clock, 1898)</i> with historical und futurist premillennial eschatology
1899	Frederik Franson inspires the founding of Deutscher Gemeinschaftsdiakonieverband in Borken, Eastern Prussia (later Marburg)
1900	Svenska Alliansmissionen (at first branch of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America)

1900	Women's Missionary Association of Finland
1901	Norwegian Alliance Mission
1903	Starts a world tour. Participates in the Korean Revival
1905	Frederik Franson in South-East Asia
1906	Frederik Franson in (Turkish) Armenia. Founding of the Armenian Spiritual Brotherhood
1906-07	Franson in South Africa and South America
1908	(2 August) Fredrik Franson dies at Idaho Springs, Colorado.

In Kansas, Grattan Guinness managed to win over a fellowship similar to the CMA for worldwide mission work: the World's Gospel Union (1902, Gospel Missionary Union).¹⁰³ George S. Fisher, and those who cooperated with him, had originally worked within the YMCA, but felt increasingly less welcome because of their theology and piety.¹⁰⁴ There was influence from the holiness movement, but that from prophetic movement was also strong: not only through Grattan Guinness, but also through James H. Brookes, who was very influential in the early phase of the World's Gospel Union.¹⁰⁵ The first missionaries worked under the auspices of the CMA and, later, joined it fully.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ It had 'branches' and held 'conventions' like the CMA did, and it propagated a similar holiness theology.

¹⁰⁴ "The movement was the outcome of the special work of grace in gospel and missionary lines carried on by the YMCA in Kansas and the West from 1888 to 1891, and which was so strongly condemned and fought by the International Committee and other prominent leaders in the association work. The Bible teaching of Dr. James H. Brookes, the missionary truths spoken by Dr. Guinness, were used of God in laying the sure foundation of correct Bible doctrine, together with right living" (*World's Gospel Union*, 1893, 9).

¹⁰⁵ *World's Gospel Union*, 1892, 9.

¹⁰⁶ Niklaus, Sawin and Stoesz, *All for Jesus*, 87-89.

Fredrik Franson (1852-1908) and the Alliance Missions¹⁰⁷

Dwight Lyman Moody, the greatest evangelist of the revival of the second half of the nineteenth century,¹⁰⁸ showed little sympathy for the newly emerging faith missions.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, he strongly influenced them. One channel of influence was the (Moody) Bible Institute. More important were his evangelistic campaigns, during which he not only called for conversion, but also for 'total surrender,' which for many became the foundation of their missionary engagement.¹¹⁰ Another indirect, but again most important, influence from Moody reached faith missions through the independent 'Chicago Illinois Street Church' (later, Chicago Avenue Church; today, Moody Memorial Church).¹¹¹ The major medium of this influence was a Swedish American, Fredrik Franson. After his (re-)baptism in 1874, he became a member of the Swedish Baptist Church in Estina, Saunders County, and began evangelistic activities. When, in 1875-76, he cooperated in Moody's evangelistic campaigns, he changed his Baptist concept of the

¹⁰⁷ Until now, there has been no scholarly study on the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of America (today: TEAM), founded by Franson. The extant histories contain few details: J.F. Swanson (ed), *Three Score Years ... and Then. Sixty Years of Worldwide Missionary Advance*, Chicago nd (1950); Paul H. Sheetz, *The Sovereign Hand*, Wheaton 1971. See also: Vernon Mortenson, *This is TEAM*, Wheaton, ³1985 (²1973, ¹1967).

¹⁰⁸ The best (and almost only) book on his theology is: Stanley N. Gundry, *Love Them In. The Life and Theology of D.L. Moody*, Grand Rapids ²1982 (1976).

¹⁰⁹ The China Inland mission was an exception in being fully accepted by Moody. He did not oppose faith missions, he only wanted no new missions, which in those days were mostly faith missions. So he did not accept A.T. Pierson's plans of a 'Northfield Missionary Board' (William R. Moody, *The Life of D.L. Moody*, New York 1900, 381).

¹¹⁰ A.T. Pierson, "Promoting Missions by Indirection. A Tribute to the Work of D.L. Moody" in: *MRW*, 1910, 276-280.

¹¹¹ The best book for the early developments of this church is: W.H. Daniels, *D.L. Moody and his Work*, Hartford, 1876, 103-120 (Full text 'Articles of Admission/Articles of Faith', 108-110, 'Principles of Organization and Government', 111-112). For its history see: Robert G. Flood, *The Story of Moody Church. A Light in the City*, Chicago 1985.

church into an interdenominational one.¹¹² On 4 August 1878, he joined the interdenominational Chicago Avenue Church. The same day, he received the congregation's credentials as a travelling evangelist.¹¹³

In 1881, Franson transferred his activities to Sweden. He called for conversion and to be ready for Christ's second coming. After a visit to London in 1882, where he attended the conference of the Evangelical Alliance,¹¹⁴ took part in the famous 'May Meetings'¹¹⁵ and was influenced by Mrs Baxter (preacher of holiness and healing, and founder of Beth Shan Healing Home),¹¹⁶ he began to see his evangelistic activities as part of worldwide missions. Wherever he went, he found the most eager support in the young fellowship movements. He had them send out missionaries, so that the fellowship movements became missions, too. The common interest of the local fellowships in missionary work later helped to advance the process of their changing from fellowships to independent ("free church") congregations.

At first, Franson directed his missionary interests towards China; the missionaries he arranged to send out were to work there in connection with the China Inland Mission or the Christian and Missionary Alliance. Only after his return to the United States in 1890 did he found a mission that worked in Africa, the Scandinavian Missionary Alliance of North America (today TEAM [The Evangelical Alliance Mission]). This meant that, for the early fellowships in Scandinavia, Africa was not much in view. There were two exceptions: Franson's influence led to the founding of the short-lived Frie

¹¹² For the details of this change even Torjesen could find no primary sources. But his reconstruction of the process of change from October 1875 to February 1877 ("A Critical Data Gap" and "A Suggested Reconstruction," 47-50) is convincing.

¹¹³ Edvard Torjesen, *A Study of Fredrik Franson*, 80.

¹¹⁴ On 11 May 1882, he became a member of the British branch of the Evangelical Alliance (Edvard Torjesen, *A Study of Fredrik Franson*, 228).

¹¹⁵ Gene A. Getz, *Moody Bible Institute*, Chicago, 1969.

¹¹⁶ Nathaniel Wiseman, *Elizabeth Baxter (Wife of Michael Paget Baxter). Saint, Evangelist, Preacher, Teacher, and Expositor*, London, 1928.

Østafrikanske Mission which worked in eastern South Africa¹¹⁷ and even before Fredrik Franson came to Scandinavia, the Svenska Missionsförbundet (1878)¹¹⁸ had sent its first missionary into the work of the Livingstone Inland Mission in 1881, in the person of Carl Johan Engvall.¹¹⁹ Others followed him¹²⁰ and, after the handing over the Livingstone Inland Mission to the ABMU by Fanny Guinness in 1884,¹²¹ the Svenska Missionsförbundet decided, in 1885, to work independently of the American Baptist

¹¹⁷ This mission dramatically turned itself into an independent mission. After the failure of the mission, which was originally to work on all the eastern coast of Africa, Ekutandaneni, its only mission station, was taken over by the Norske Misjonsförbund.

¹¹⁸ For the SMF's origins see: William Bredberg, *P. Waldenströms verksamhet til 1878. Till fragan om Svenska Missionsförbundets uppkomst*, Lund akademisk avhandling 1949, especially 353-406. For its separation from Fosterlandsstiftelsen see: William Bredberg; Oscar Lövgren, *Genom Guds*, Stockholm 1953, 68ff. See also: Olof Wennås (ed), *Liv och frihet. En bok om Svenska Missionsförbundets*, Stockholm 1978, 303f. Older books are: Theodor Anderson (ed), *Svenska Missionsförbundets. Den uppkomst och femtioårigs verksamhet*, Stockholm 1928; J.E. Lundahl, *Vår yttre mission. Svenska Missionsförbundets mission i Kongo, Kina, Ost-Turkestan m.n.*, Stockholm 1916.

¹¹⁹ *Förbundet* 1881, 116 contains Engvall's letter from Bonny, dated 24.8.1881. For health reasons Engvall had to return to Sweden early in 1882 (Cecilia Irvine, *The Church of Christ in Zaire*, 105). See also AMZ, 13 (1886), 138.

¹²⁰ Cecilia Irvine, *The Church of Christ in Zaire*, 105.

¹²¹ In *WWW*, 1884, 148 Fanny Guinness describes the handover. She mentions that most missionaries held a Baptist view of baptism, but does not explicitly mention the two SMF missionaries.

Missionary Union (ABMU).¹²² In 1909, the SMF extended its work northwards into Congo (Brazzaville).¹²³

The Svenska Alliansmissionen,¹²⁴ the other group of Scandinavian faith missions strongly influenced by Franson, works in South Africa. Within the (US) Scandinavian Missionary Alliance, which began its work in South Africa in 1890, there were soon also some missionaries from Sweden,¹²⁵ whose work then became the starting point for the Svenska Alliansmissionen¹²⁶ and for the Helgelseförbundet.¹²⁷

¹²² When Nils Westlind and Karl Johan Pettersson had to travel to Sweden in 1885, they suggested that the SMF start its own mission. The ABMU then transferred Mukimvungu to SFM, which was handed back to ABMU in 1939 (Cecilia Irvine, *The Church of Christ in Zaire*, 105f). A scholarly book dealing with this area is: Ragnar Widman, *Trosföreställningar i Nedre Zaire från 1880 - talet*, Stockholm 1979 (with English summary).

¹²³ Hilaire Nkounkou et al., *75e Anniversaire de la fondation de Madzia et de l'Évangélisation du Congo par les Missionnaires Protestants*, Brazzaville 1984, 5. In 1906 the French colonial administration had refused entry to the Svenska Missionsförbundet (p. 5).

¹²⁴ For the history of Svenska Alliansmissionen, especially in Sweden, see: Fritz Hägg, *Svenska Alliansmissionen genom hundra år*, Jönköping 1953. For a list of all missionaries (1900-1953), see 371-392.

¹²⁵ William E. Dawson, *History of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission Work in Africa 1892-1920*, nd [1933] (unpublished); The biography of its most famous missionary is: Maria Nilsen; Paul H. Sheetz, *Malla Moe*, Chicago, ⁸1980 (1956).

¹²⁶ The first Svenska Alliansmissionen's missionary to work for the Scandinavian Alliance Mission (TEAM) was K.A. Hjelm (Dawson, *History*, 79; Hägg, *Svenska Alliansmissionen genom hundra år*, 374). In 1909 the SvAM decided to work independently in South Africa. To this end Hjelm was given the mission stations Ekukanyeni, Ekubonakaleni, Patata and Piet Retief in Transvaal (Dawson, *History*, 156). For the history of the Svenska Alliansmissionen in South Africa see: K.A. Hjelm, *Swedish Alliance Mission e South Africa 1901-51*, Piet Retief, 1951.

¹²⁷ For the history of Helgelseförbundet see: *Efter Tjugufem år. Minneskrift med anledning af Helgelseförbundets tjugufem årige verksamhet bland Kineser och Zuluer*, Torp (Kumla) 1915; *Minneskrift vid Helgelseförbundets fyrtioårsjubileum 1. Juni 1927*, Götabro, 1927; *Helgelseförbundet 1887-1937*, Torp 1937; *Av Herren har*

The Big 'Second Generation' Faith Missions

Until the end of the 19th century, faith missions working outside China had remained small. In Africa, they had achieved very little, compared to the classical missions. That began to change when the three largest missions (in terms of numbers and influence) were founded: the Africa Inland Mission¹²⁸ (Peter Cameron Scott,¹²⁹ Philadelphia, 1895); the Sudan Interior Mission¹³⁰

det skett. Helgelseförbundet 60 år, Götabro 1947; Birger Davidsson, Det började med ett bönemöte ... Missionssällskapet Helgelseförbundet. En presentation af Missionssällskapet Helgelseförbundets upkomst, utveckling och verksamhet, Kumla 1955.

¹²⁸ Kenneth Richardson, *Garden of Miracles. The Story of the Africa Inland Mission*, London, 1976 (1968). This book is only brief and not so reliable. A thorough dissertation is: John A. Gration, *The Relationship of the Africa Inland Mission and its National Church in Kenya Between 1895 and 1971*, PhD, New York University 1973, Ann Arbor [UMI] 1974. A thorough study of the African response is: David Sandgren, *Christianity and the Kikuyu. Religious Divisions and Social Conflict*, New York 1989 (originally: 'The Kikuyu, Christianity and the Africa Inland Mission', PhD Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison 1976 [UMI]). Books by AIM missionaries: Stuart M. Bryson, *Light in Darkness. The Story of the Nandi Bible*, London/Eastbourne 1959; Gladys Stauffacher, *Faster Beats the Drum*, Pearl River, ²1978 (1977) (based on diaries); K.N. Phillips, *Tom Collins of Kenya. Son of Valour*, London, nd (1965).

¹²⁹ There is no current biography of Scott. The best is still: Mrs E.M. Whittemore, *Promoted! A Brief Life Sketch of Cameron Scott*, New York: Door of Hope Publishing House, 1897, 125 pages. The voluminous AIM collection in Wheaton does not contain any primary sources on Scott except the journal *Hearing and Doing*. - *DACB.

¹³⁰ Rowland V. Bingham, *Seven Sevens of Years and a Jubilee. The Story of the Sudan Interior Mission*, Toronto nd (²1958) 1943 (New York/Toronto); N. N., *Root from Dry Ground. The Story of the Sudan Interior Mission*, London 1966. The SIM was founded as Africa Industrial Mission. See: Rowland V. Bingham, 'A New Name for an Established Mission' in: *The Missionary Witness*, 17.10.1905. For SIM in Ethiopia see: Raymond J. Davis, *Fire on the Mountains. The Story of a Miracle - the Church in Ethiopia*, Toronto et al. ¹²1981 (1980); Clarence W. Duff, *Cords of Love. A Testimony to God's Grace in Pre-Italian Ethiopia as Recorded in Memorabilia of One of the Sudan Interior Mission's 'C.O.D. Boys'*, Phillipsburg NJ 1980 (contains very many original full text documents); Peter Cotterell, *Born at Midnight*, Chicago: Moody,

(Rowland Bingham,¹³¹1898); and the Sudan United Mission¹³² (Karl¹³³ and

1973; Peter Cotterell, "An Indigenous Church in Southern Ethiopia" in: *Bulletin of the Society for African Church History*, 1969-70, 68-104; Peter Cotterell, "Dr. T.A. Lambie. Some Biographical Notes" in: *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 1972, 43-53. For SIM in Liberia see: Jane Reed; Jim Grant, *Voice under Every Palm. The Story of Radio Station ELWA*, Grand Rapids, ²1970 (1968). For a traveller's overview see: Harold Fuller, *Run while the Sun is Hot*, Toronto et al. 1967. For a biography see: Sophie de la Haye, *Tread upon the Lion. The Story of Tommie Titcombe*, Toronto et al., ³1980 (1974). Embedded into a far-flung theological and historical treatise is the (harmonizing) analysis of SIM-ECWA relations: Harold Fuller, *Mission-Church Dynamics. How to Change Bicultural Tensions into Dynamic Missionary Outreach*, Pasadena 1980, 193ff. -[*sim.org/index.php/content/sim-history](http://sim.org/index.php/content/sim-history). [*www.sim.org](http://www.sim.org) [*wiki: Serving In Mission](http://www.sim.org/wiki: Serving In Mission).

¹³¹ J. Hunter, *A Flame of Fire. The Life and Work of Dr. Rowland V. Bingham*, Toronto, 1961.

¹³² Lawry Maxwell, *Half a Century of Grace*, London 1954; Mollie E. Tett, *The Road to Freedom. The Sudan United Mission 1904-1968*, Sidcup 1968; Jan Harm Boer, *Missions: Herolds of Capitalism or Christ?* Ibadan, 1984. For SUM in Sudan see: Peter J. Spartalis, *To the Nile and Beyond. The Work of the Sudan United Mission*, Homebush, NSW, 1981, (carefully researched and documented), Roy E. Conwell, *Samwiil of Sudan*, Ashgrove, Queensland, 1985.

¹³³ A biography written by a friend of his second wife Gertrude is: Irene V. Cleverdon, *Pools on the Glowing Sand. The Story of Karl Kumm*, Melbourne 1936. The current biography is: Peter Spartalis with Roy Conwell and Christof Sauer, *Karl Kumm: The Last of the Livingstones. Pioneer Missionary and Statesman*, Bonn, 1993. For a dissertation see: John H. Boer, 'The Last of the Livingstones: A Study of H. Karl W. Kumm's Missiological Conceptions of Civilization', Free Reformed University of Amsterdam, 1973. Kumm's most important books are: *The Sudan. A Short Compendium of Facts and Figures about the Land of Darkness*, London 1907; *From Hausaland to Egypt through the Sudan*, London 1910; *Khont Hon Nofer. The Lands of Ethiopia*, London 1910. -^{*}A deep reaching study is: Christof Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt: Guinness, Kumm and the Sudan-Pionier-Mission*, Nürnberg: VTR, 2005. [*wiki, *www.bu/.../missionary/kumm-hermann-karl-wilhelm](http://www.bu/.../missionary/kumm-hermann-karl-wilhelm).

Lucy¹³⁴ Kumm, Liverpool, 1904).¹³⁵

All three missions were 'second attempts': Scott had been a CMA missionary in the Lower Congo from 1891 to 1893. After he had returned to the United States for health reasons, he failed to win the CMA to his vision of reaching the interior of Africa from the East Coast.¹³⁶ Bingham had tried to reach the Sudan Belt from the Nigerian Coast in 1893, together with Walter Gowans and Tom Kent as independent missionaries. The attempt failed; Walter Gowans and Tom Kent died.¹³⁷ Karl Kumm founded the Sudan United Mission after he had been a NAM missionary and, in 1900, he began the Sudan-Pionier-Mission¹³⁸ at Eisenach (Thüringen) (which dismissed him only two years later).¹³⁹

The Africa Inland Mission and the Sudan Interior Mission were strongly influenced by the prophetic movement and the holiness movement. The Baptist element did not dominate, but it was comparatively strong. The

¹³⁴ Grattan Guinness, *Lucy Guinness Kumm. Her Life Story. With extracts from her Writings*, London 1908.

¹³⁵ *For web based information on the three missions see: http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/african_missions_parts_1_to_3/Publishers-Note.aspx (for SUM archives). SUM is now Pioneers (www.pioneers-uk.org). For the SUM founders go to: www.bu.edu/missiology/missionary-biography/i-k/kumm-hermann-karl-wilhelm-1874-1930-and-lucy-evangeline-guinness-1865-1906/ *DOACB *wiki.

¹³⁶ *Sixth Annual Report International Missionary Alliance* (11.10.1893), 43 shows the CMA still in full accord with his plans.

¹³⁷ Rowland Bingham, *Seven Sevens of Years*, 18-23.

¹³⁸ Grattan Guinness, *Evangelizing Nubia* (unpublished) 5 pages; Eberhard von Dessien; Ulrich Ehrbeck; Eberhard Troeger, *Wasser auf dürres Land. 85 Jahre Sudan-Pionier-Mission/Evangelische Mission in Oberägypten*, Wiesbaden 1985; Samuel Ali Hussein, *Aus meinem Leben*, Wiesbaden, 1920; Johannes Held, *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermision. Rückblick auf die ersten 25 Jahre der Sudan-Pionier-Mission 1900-1925*, Wiesbaden, 1925; Margarete Unruh, *Fünfzig Jahre evangelische Missionsarbeit unter Muhammedanern*, Wiesbaden, 1950; *Auftrag und Weg einer Muhammedanermision*, Wiesbaden, 1955; *Gerald Lauche, *The Development of the "Sudan Pionier Mission" into a Mission among the Nile-Nubians (1900-1966)*, PhD, UNISA, 2016.

¹³⁹ Min. Sudan-Pionier-Mission 29 May 1902; 26 July 1902; 2 October 1902.

Sudan United Mission was, in its beginnings, closely linked to the ELTI but, over the years, it became the faith mission with the strongest participation of non-Free Church missionaries. This meant, that the SUM was the only faith mission to develop both denominational and interdenominational branches. These three 'second generation' missions are still among the largest faith missions. The churches resulting from their work in Africa comprised between three and four million members in about 1975.¹⁴⁰

Africa Inland Mission

1860	(11 June) Charles E. Hurlbert born
1867	(7 March) Peter Cameron Scott born (Presbyterian)
1891	P.C. Scott ordained by A.B. Simpson (Independent)
1891-93	P.C. Scott CMA missionary in Zaire
1893	P.C. Scott has to leave Africa at the point of death
1893-94	P.C. Scott travels in USA trying to gather support for a mission to reach the interior of Africa from the East Coast
1894	P.C. Scott fails ultimately to win CMA support for his plans
1895	P.C. Scott comes into contact with the newly founded Philadelphia Missionary Council (PMC)
1895	First missionaries leave for Kenya
1895	Africa Inland Mission (AIM) founded as a field directed mission. PMC responsible for home representation only
1895	Nzawi founded in Kenya
1896	Sakai, Kilungu and Kangundu founded
1896	(4 December) P.C. Scott dies at Nzawi
1897-98	Severe crisis of the mission
1897	A.T. Pierson counsels Hurlbert not to dissolve AIM
1897	Hurlbert Director of AIM
1900	Hurlbert visits the remaining missionary work in Kenya
1901	C.E. Hurlbert becomes a missionary to Kenya
1903	Kijabe founded, becomes headquarters of AIM
1909	CMS transfers Nassa Mission (Tanzania) to AIM
1910	First attempt to reach North-East Zaire fails

¹⁴⁰ See statistics at the end of this Chapter 3.

1912	Kasungu first mission station in North-East Zaire
1913	Kikuyu Conference defines aim of a United Church in Kenya
1918	AIM starts work in Arua, West Nile (Uganda) in the context of the Anglican Church in Uganda
1924	AIM starts work in the eastern part of Central Africa
1927	C.E. Hurlbert resigns as Director of AIM
1928	C.E. Hurlbert starts Unevangelized Africa Mission
1949	Omari mission station at southern tip of the Sudan
1950	Start of controversy with US 'fighting fundamentalism' (McIntyre)
1955-62	R.T. Davies International Secretary/General Director of AIM
1970	International reorganization of AIM
1976	Start of work on the Comoro Islands
1987	Start of work in Chad

Sudan Interior Mission

1872	Rowland V. Bingham born at East Grinstead, Sussex
1885	His father dies from a vaccination
1886	Bingham pupil teacher
1887	Converted by the Salvation Army, which he then joins
1888	Emigration to Canada
1890	Bingham meets John Salmon, founder of the CMA in Canada
1892	Bingham leaves the Salvation Army, comes close to the Brethren
1892-93	Assistant pastor to John Salmon, pastor of an independent church related to the CMA
1893	A.J. Gordon's lectures 'The Holy Spirit and Missions' win Bingham to the cause of world mission
1893	Mrs Gowans wins Bingham to her son's idea of starting a mission to the interior of the Sudan
1893	Walter Gowans, Bingham and Tom Kent try to reach Lake Chad as independent missionaries
1894	Toronto Bible College founded, soon closely related to SIM
1895	Bingham returns to America after the death of Gowans and Kent
1895	Bingham becomes a Baptist
1898	Bingham founds the Africa Industrial Mission in Toronto
1898	Hudson Taylor in Toronto
1899	Missionaries to Malawi with Zambezi Industrial Mission
1900	Another attempt at missionary work in Nigeria fails
1902	First Mission Station: Patigi
1903	Second Mission Station: Bida

1903	Self-supporting Industrial Missions recognized as unsuitable
1905	Crisis of the mission
1905	Africa Industrial Mission renamed Africa Evangelistic Mission
1906	Joins Karl Kumm's Sudan United Mission
1907	Leaves Sudan United Mission
1910	First baptism in Nigeria
1910	Indigenous Church Principle formally accepted as mission policy
1924	Bingham starts Canadian Keswick
1924	Missionary works starts in Niger
1927	SIM takes over the Abyssinia Frontiers Mission (Alfred Buxton)
1930	SIM starts work in Burkina Faso
1932	Bingham reorganizes SIM-UK
1936	SIM starts missionary work in Sudan
1942	Death of Rowland Bingham
1945	SIM missionary work in Aden
1946	SIM missionary work in Benin
1952	SIM takes over Radio ELWA, Monrovia, Liberia
1956	SIM missionary work in Ghana
1981	Pan-African Fellowship of SIM related churches

Sudan United Mission

1874	(19 October) Karl Kumm born in Osterode, Germany
1872	Lucy Guinness born to Fanny and Grattan Guinness of ELTI, London
1895	Karl Kumm missionary of North Africa Mission
1900	(11 January) Lucy Guinness and Karl Kumm marry in Cairo
1900	Ali (Samwili) Hussein (formerly ELTI) missionary in Aswan
1900	Sudan-Pionier-Mission founded at Eisenach
1902	Sudan-Pionier-Mission dismisses Kumm
1902	Promotion by Freiburg University (PhD)
1902	Lightbearers' League founded in Britain
1904	Sudan Pioneer Mission/Sudan United Mission founded
1904	First mission station: Wase
1905	Dr Fallon starts SUM-RSA
1906	SUM-USA
1906	(11 August) Lucy Kumm dies at Northfield
1907	Kumm visits South Africa
1908	Tom Aliyana baptized
1908	Kumm wins C.T. Studd for missionary work in Central Africa

1910	Cambridge University Mission Party (CUMP) starts Kabwir Mission
1910	Kumm's journey Nigeria to the Sudan
1910	Inter Mission Conference, Lokoja
1911	Kumm in Australia and New Zealand
1911	First baptism (Istifanus Lar)
1912	SUM-AUS/NZ
1912	SUM-DK (Dr Brønnum)
1913	SUM-D (with Orientmission)
1913	SUM-AUS/NZ in Melut (Sudan)
1914	Kumm goes to the USA because of his former German citizenship
1916	Reformed leave SUM-RSA, receive the Tiv area
1920	Johanna Veenstra in Nigeria
1922	SUM-N (later, NMS)
1926	Union Church decided for Northern Nigeria
1929	Federation decided instead of Union Church
1930	CUMP work taken over by SUM-GB, but infant baptism kept
1930	Karl Kumm dies at San Diego, California
1933	Johanna Veenstra's death
1946	First ordinations
1948	Swiss missionaries
1952	SUM-CH/F 1960 SUM-F
1954	Churches of Christ in the Sudan (today: COCIN)

Two other missions—the last of the faith missions founded before 1914—have their roots in one or other of these three missions (AIM, SIM, SUM). The two are the Congo Inland Mission and the Heart of Africa Mission.

Alma Doering,¹⁴¹ an American of German descent, started the Congo Inland Mission¹⁴² and worked as an AIM missionary in Kenya from 1906 to 1909.¹⁴³ In 1912, C.T. Studd (1860-1931),¹⁴⁴ founded the Heart of Africa Mission, which was to become the Worldwide Evangelization Crusade¹⁴⁵ (today,

¹⁴¹ There is no biography of this extraordinary women. The existing brief sketches of her life are more like legends. For her joining the AIM and for the time before see: *Haig Diary*, April-June 1906, 9f. Partly autobiographical is: *Leopard Spots or God's Masterpiece. Which? An Attempt to Answer after Eighteen Years of Missionary Service among Races of Three Colors, White, Black and Copper*, Cleveland Ohio, nd (1914, before the start of the war); written by herself, but not dealing with missions: Alma E. Doering, *To find his way out - Under Pressure, Not Rebellious*, St. Petersburg FL, nd (1957); written by her closest associate: Stella C. Dunkelberger, *Crossing Africa. Being the Experiences of 4 Home Secretary in Primitive Parts of the Black Continent*, Germantown 1935.

¹⁴² William B. Weaver; Harry E. Bertsche, *Twenty-Five Years of Mission Work in Belgian Congo*, Chicago, 1938; *Thirty-Five Years In the Congo. A History of Demonstrations of Divine Power in the Congo*, Chicago, 1945; Melvin J. Loewen, *Three Score. The Story of an Emerging Mennonite Church in Central Africa*, Elkhart 1972.

¹⁴³ An important source to account for her leaving the AIM is: Haigh Diary, 1908 ff, in the possession of the Africa Inter Mennonite Mission. See especially the following entries: 11.11.1908; 14.11.1908; 17.12.1908; 6.12.1908; 31.12.1908; 28.12.1910. In 1896-1900, Alma Doering was a CMA missionary on the Lower Congo, 1900-04 she worked with the Svenska Missionsförbundet there, which cooperated with the CMA.

¹⁴⁴ Norman Grubb, *C.T. Studd. Cricketeer and Pioneer*, London 1933, Ft. Washington 1965.

¹⁴⁵ There is no WEC history yet, but see: Alfred Buxton, *The First Ten Years of the Heart of Africa Mission 1913-1922*, London, ⁵1927; For the origin of the various Continental WEC branches see the thorough: Bernd Schirmacher, *Baumeister ist der Herr. Erfahrungen göttlicher Kleinarbeit in einem Missionswerk*, Neuhausen, 1978. For WEC-AUS see: Stewart R. Dinnen, *When I Say Move ...* Ft. Washington et al., 1972. For the 75th anniversary of WEC Helen Roseveare published a book giving a story from each year: Helen Roseveare, *Living Stones. Sacrifice, Faith, Holiness, Fellowship: 75 Years of WEC*, London et al., 1988. Much valuable information can be gained from autobiographical books: Edith Buxton, *Reluctant Missionary*, London, 1969; *Reluctant No Longer. Address given by Mrs. Buxton at a luncheon to mark the publication of the paperback edition of Reluctant Missionary, at the*

Worldwide Endeavour for Christ (WEC) International). He had been won for missionary work in the interior of Africa by a talk given by SUM founder Kumm in Liverpool in 1908.¹⁴⁶ Malaria prevented Studd joining Kumm on a trip across Africa in 1909 but, in 1911, he managed to travel to the extreme south-west of Sudan.¹⁴⁷ There he found too few people but heard of the densely populated areas of northwest Zaire¹⁴⁸ where, in 1913, together with Alfred Buxton,¹⁴⁹ he started to work.¹⁵⁰

Both Alma Doering and C.T. Studd were strongly influenced by the holiness movement. Alma Doering, though technically a Lutheran, strongly cooperated with US Mennonites, who did not fully share her concept of an interdenominational mission.¹⁵¹ In 1925, she left the Congo Inland

Westminster Theater, London, 21974 (1973); Norman Grubb, *Once Caught, No Escape. My Life Story*, Ft. Washington, 1983 (London, 1969); Alfred W. Ruscoe, *The Lame Take the Prey. An Autobiography*, Ft. Washington/Toronto, 1968. For biographies see: Norman Grubb, *Successor to C.T. Studd. The story of Jack Harrison*, London: Lutterworth, 1949; *Mighty through God. The life of Edith Moules*, London, 1951; Betty Macindoe, *Going for God*, London, 1972 (Bessie Fricker-Brierley); Alan Burgess, *Daylight Must Come. The Story of a Courageous Woman Doctor in the Congo*, Minneapolis, nd (London, 1975, New York, 1977). The most recent Studd biography is: Eileen Vincent, *C.T. Studd and Priscilla. United to Fight for Jesus*, Bromley/Gerrards Cross/Eastbourne, 1988.

¹⁴⁶ The talk was announced on billboards: 'Cannibals want missionaries' (V. Cleverdon, *Pools on the Glowing Sand*, 96).

¹⁴⁷ This time only the doctors and his wife Priscilla tried to prevent him from travelling. For the whole trip see: Eileen Vincent, *C.T. Studd and Priscilla*, 142-149.

¹⁴⁸ Departure was on 15.12.1910. In the Sudan he travelled with Bishop Gwynne of Khartoum and Archdeacon Shaw, both CMS missionaries (Grubb, *C.T. Studd*, 129ff).

¹⁴⁹ In 1927, together with Dr. T. Lambie, he founded the Abyssinia Frontier Mission which became the base for the SIM work in Ethiopia. He died in a German bomb attack on London.

¹⁵⁰ On 16 October 1913, Studd and Buxton started their work at Niangara, which in 1950 was handed over to the (closely related) AIM.

¹⁵¹ Elisabeth Schlansky; Alma Doering, *Die Kongo Inland Mission*, Brieg, nd (ca. 1913).

Mission,¹⁵² which then increasingly became a denominational mission.¹⁵³ In 1926, she founded the Unevangelized Tribes Mission.¹⁵⁴ C.T. Studd's imprint on WEC was very strong.¹⁵⁵ Under the leadership of Norman P. Grubb, C.T. Studd's son-in-law and successor, it developed into one of the most international and interdenominational faith missions.

Missions not Related to the Guinness Family

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the holiness movement influenced almost all Protestant churches, but with certain groups its influence was stronger than elsewhere. Quite early among these groups, two faith missions were begun: the American Faith Mission (1885),¹⁵⁶ which

¹⁵² For the background see Min. Congo Inland Mission Field Conference 1925. For preceding tensions involving Alma Doering see: Min. Field Conference 1924. The Congo Inland Mission Home Board reacted sharply to the missionaries' demands, especially to the demand for full interdenominationalization, and demanded an apology (Stan Nussbaum, *You Must be Born Again. A History of the Evangelical Mennonite Church*, Grand Rapids, 1973, 25).

¹⁵³ "While Doering's early contribution to the Congo Inland Mission is unquestionable, it is also true that stable and consistent Congo Inland Mission development was not possible until she and her independent minded friends resigned in 1926" (James C. Juhnke, *A People of Missions. A History of General Conference Mennonite Overseas Missions*, Newton, Kansas 1979, 75). For later history see also: *Die Saat geht auf. Fünfzig Jahre Missions- und Kirchengeschichte im Kwango-Zaire*, Basel 1990. The first part of the book was written by Bakata Ibula, Maluku Mankatu Kubusa, Matonga Mvwamba and Bayaka Batutiaku, the second part by Traudel Witter.

¹⁵⁴ UTM received most of its support from independent churches with fundamentalist tendencies. When Alma Doering became too old to work as UTM's Home Secretary, the decline of the UTM began, resulting in its dissolution in 1952 (James C. Juhnke, *A People of Missions*, 111).

¹⁵⁵ This can easily be seen in the pages of *Heart of Africa* (1913-1931). Also: Jean Walker, *Fool and Fanatic? C.T. Studd. Quotations from his Letters*, Gerrards Cross, 1980.

¹⁵⁶ This was not an organized faith mission, but more of a loosely connected group of independent missions like Bassim Faith Mission, Ellichpoor Faith Mission etc. Most of these missions worked in India and later joined the CMA (see: *Sixth Annual*

centered around Oberlin College in Ohio;¹⁵⁷ and the Kurku and Central India Hill Mission (1890),¹⁵⁸ led by Mrs Elizabeth Baxter¹⁵⁹ in London with her Missionary Training Home.¹⁶⁰ Both missions gained little importance and neither touched Africa. Just as the 'hard core' holiness movement produced many small groups and later denominations, these groups only developed small missions. Some of them worked in Africa, for example, the Peniel Missionary Society (1897)¹⁶¹ and the Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association (1895).¹⁶²

The larger holiness missions worked in southern Africa, where they could follow a double calling: to evangelize among (non-European) non-Christians and to spread the holiness message among the (European) Christians there. The South Africa General Mission¹⁶³ (today, the Africa Evangelical Fellow-

Report International Missionary Alliance, 11 October 1893, 21). For detailed information, turn to A.T. Pierson's *The Missionary Review of the World*.

¹⁵⁷ *AMZ*, 13 (1886), 243.

¹⁵⁸ Its roots are in Albert Norton's independent mission 1874 (*EMCM*, 356). For Kurku Mission see: Nathaniel Wiseman, *Elisabeth Baxter*, London, 1928, 203ff. In 1890, the Council of the Missionary Training Home took over responsibility (p. 210).

¹⁵⁹ Nathaniel Wiseman, *Elisabeth Baxter*, London, 1928.

¹⁶⁰ Nathaniel Wiseman, *Elisabeth Baxter*, 181-201. By 1900, 336 women and men had been trained.

¹⁶¹ Started by Anna Vansant in Pt. Said (*EMCM*, 526); Jones, *Holiness Movement*, 243f. For work in Egypt see: Laura Cammack Trachsel, *Kindled Fires in Africa*, Marion 1960, 107-121. For the whole history of Peniel Mission see *EMCM*, 526. The only missionary activity of this small mission in Africa (Egypt) was taken over by the National Holiness Missionary Society in 1949, which later changed its name to World Gospel Mission.

¹⁶² In 1951 the Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association joined the Church of the Nazarene. 1895-1951 a total of 30 missionaries had been sent out (*EMCM*, 315-316), some of them working in North Africa (Charles Edwin Jones, *Holiness Movement*, 224-227).

¹⁶³ James Gray Kallam, *A History of the Africa Evangelical Fellowship from its Inception to 1917*, PhD, New York University, 1978.

ship [AEF]),¹⁶⁴ whose constituent parts were founded between 1889 and 1891 by Spencer Walton¹⁶⁵ and by Mrs. Osborne-Howe, handed over the work among whites—after a generation—to other organizations. However, the Africa Evangelistic Band,¹⁶⁶ founded in 1924 by the Garratt sisters Helena, May and Emma, concentrated its work increasingly on whites and 'coloureds.'

A mission closely related to the American holiness movement was the World Gospel Mission (1910).¹⁶⁷ Until 1929, it worked only in China, then it started missionary work also in Africa: Kenya (1929), Burundi (1938) and Egypt (1949).¹⁶⁸

These holiness missions followed Hudson Taylor's principles but were not connected to the Guinness family.

The Industrial Missions

The industrial missions do not go back to Hudson Taylor, although those treated in this book later accepted faith mission principles.¹⁶⁹ In the beginning, these missions were all to be self-supporting industrial missions. In Britain, this idea can be traced back to David Livingstone (1813-1873)

¹⁶⁴ Africa Evangelical Fellowship, *Guide for Daily Prayer for Personell of the Fellowship and Associated Churches*, Reading 1985, 5-8.

¹⁶⁵ George E. Weeks, *W. Spencer Walton*, London/Edinburgh/New York, nd [World War I] contains many primary sources.

¹⁶⁶ Jooste, *Die Africa Evangelistic Band in Wese en Praktyk*, Bloemfontein, 1957.

¹⁶⁷ 1910-1926 Missionary Bureau of the National Association for the Promotion of Holiness, 1926-1947/54 National Holiness Missionary Society.

¹⁶⁸ The History of the Gospel Mission can be found in three books: Laura Cammack Trachsel, *Kindled Fires in Africa*, Marion 1960, with the companion volumes *Kindled Fires in Asia* (1960) and *Kindled Fires in Latin America* (1961). For further literature see: Charles Edwin Jones, *Holiness Movement*, 413-415. The work in Egypt was started by taking over Peniel Missions.

¹⁶⁹ The Mission Philafricaine (CH) offered prospective missionaries eight-year contracts for industrial work in Angola (Min. Mission Philafricaine 29.4.1899).

(and, through him, to Karl Gützlaff);¹⁷⁰ and for the United States, to William Taylor (1821-1902).¹⁷¹ David Livingstone pleaded for the establishment of industrial missions in the highland areas of Central Africa, to support themselves by agriculture and trade.¹⁷² William Taylor was a visionary leader from the Methodist holiness movement. He had started, often in some contact with European settlements, self-supporting missions, first in India¹⁷³ and then in Latin America.¹⁷⁴ In 1885, meanwhile, being 'Bishop of Africa',¹⁷⁵ he began to practise the same ideas in Angola and Zaire.¹⁷⁶

William Taylor's work was an example and an incentive to the CMA.¹⁷⁷ Livingstone served as an example to Joseph Booth (1851-1932),¹⁷⁸ an

¹⁷⁰ David Livingstone received his call to become a missionary in 1834 through Gützlaff's "Appeal to the Churches in Britain and America for Qualified Medical Missionaries" (George Seaver, *David Livingstone. His Life and Letters*, London, 1957, 21f. He had intended to go to China, but political circumstances hindered him).

¹⁷¹ His autobiography: *Story of My Life*, New York, 1896. See also: *Taylor of California, Bishop of Africa*, London, 1897 (New York, 1896). For his principles see: William Taylor, *Pauline Methods of Missionary Work*, Philadelphia, 1879. Further literature: Charles Edwin Jones, *Holiness Movement*, 761-763.

¹⁷² *The missions that followed Livingstone's appeal (UMCA, Livingstonia Mission, Blantyre Mission) took industrial work seriously, but were not Industrial Missions in the strict (self-supporting) sense.

¹⁷³ William Taylor, *Four Years' Campaign in India*, London/New York, 1876; *Ten Years of Self-Supporting Missions in India*, New York 1882.

¹⁷⁴ Goodsil Filley Arms, *History of the William Taylor Self-Supporting Missions in South America*, New York, 1921.

¹⁷⁵ This meant that he could establish his missionary work anywhere in Africa (excluding Liberia, where Methodist churches already existed).

¹⁷⁶ Regular reports can in *MRW*. The American home base was 'The Transit and Building Fund Society of Bishop William Taylor's Self-Supporting Missions.'

¹⁷⁷ *WWW*, 1884, 142ff ("Rev. Wm. Taylor and his Work in Africa").

¹⁷⁸ David Langford, "Joseph Booth", unpublished, nd *Booth did indeed refer to William Carey, but his main influences seem to have come, as the mission journals he read testify, from the Methodist Bishop of Africa, William Taylor (Klaus Fiedler, *The Making of a Maverick Missionary. Joseph Booth in Australasia*, Zomba: Kachere, 2008; 69; Mzuzu: Luviri Press, 2016).

Englishman who had emigrated to Australia.¹⁷⁹ In Malawi, he started the Zambezi Industrial Mission (1892)¹⁸⁰ and the Nyassa Industrial Mission (1893).¹⁸¹ The Livingstone Inland Mission,¹⁸² the Qua Iboe Mission,¹⁸³ the SIM¹⁸⁴ and, partly, also the AIM¹⁸⁵ were originally planned as industrial missions. It quickly became clear that it was even more difficult to run a self-supporting mission at the mouth of the Congo¹⁸⁶ or on the coast of West Africa¹⁸⁷ than it was in the African highlands. Only the Zambezi Industrial Mission and Nyassa Industrial Mission were successful—and then only until the coffee blight in 1929.¹⁸⁸

¹⁷⁹ By turning Seventh Day Baptist and starting denominational missionary work, Booth left the interdenominational faith mission movement in 1898 at the latest (William C. Hubbard, "Sabbath Evangelizing and Industrial Association" in *Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America*, Vol I, 577-583).

¹⁸⁰ *Harry Langworthy, *"Africa for the African" The Life of Joseph Booth*, Blantyre: CLAIM-Kachere, 1996, pp. 31-62.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 69-70.

¹⁸² Fanny Guinness, *The New World of Central Africa*, 189.

¹⁸³ Jean S. Corbett, *According to Plan. The Story of Samuel Alexander Bill, Founder of the Qua Iboe Mission, Nigeria*, Worthing, ²1979 (1977), 45 (*DOACB).

¹⁸⁴ Moline and Lawrence, the first two missionaries of the then Africa Industrial Mission were seconded to the Zambezi Industrial Mission to gain industrial mission experience (Min. Africa Industrial Mission, 5.1.1899).

¹⁸⁵ In 1899 C.E. Hurlbert returned from his inspection tour of Kenya a convinced supporter of the industrial mission concept (Min. Africa Industrial Mission, 19.9.1899).

¹⁸⁶ Cecilia Irvine, *The Church of Christ in Zaire*, 63-64.

¹⁸⁷ Min. Africa Industrial Mission, 8.12.1899.

¹⁸⁸ In 1902 ZIM received £1500 in gifts and earned £8000 from the sale of agricultural products, for the NIM the figures were £529 and £1369 respectively (James S. Dennis, *Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions*, New York/Chicago/Toronto, 1902).

The most vehement advocate of the industrial mission concept was Héli Chatelin,¹⁸⁹ who was a member of Bishop Taylor's mission from 1885 to 1887.¹⁹⁰ In 1897, he designated Kalukembe in the Angolan Highlands as the first mission station of his Philafrican Liberators' League¹⁹¹ (Mission Philafricaine).¹⁹² Kalukembe (also called 'Lincoln' because it was to be a haven for freed slaves¹⁹³), was meant to be the starting point for a whole chain of self-supporting industrial missions which were each to be financed by the profits of the preceding station.¹⁹⁴ Because slavery was coming to an end in those years, even in the Portuguese domains, Chatelin could only attract a limited number of slaves and he could not realize his economic ideas.¹⁹⁵ He

¹⁸⁹ Alida Chatelin, *Héli Chatelin. L'Ami de l'Angola. Fondateur de la Mission Philafricaine. D'après sa correspondance*, Lausanne, 1918.

¹⁹⁰ From 1887-97, he was an independent missionary, which he combined in 1891-92 with the position of American Consul in Luanda.

¹⁹¹ Héli Chatelin, a Swiss, went for missionary training to America, envisaging better possibilities there. In 1896 he founded the Philafrican Liberators' League. The new mission was not very successful. Gradually after 1899 the Swiss supporters of his work, under the leadership of his sister Alida Chatelin, took over (*Quatrième Rapport Mission Philafricaine* (1898)). In 1904, the 'Comité auxiliaire de la Mission Philafricaine' was officially organized (Min. 17.3.1904), which developed into the Mission Philafricaine, since 1952 part of the Alliance Missionnaire Suisse/Schweizer Allianzmission, which goes back to Fredrik Franson.

¹⁹² Rudolphe Bréchet, *J'ai ouvert une porte devant toi. Essai sur l'histoire de la Mission Philafricaine*, Lausanne, 1972.

¹⁹³ The first fugitive slave accepted into Lincoln (10 January 1902) was Catraio. He became an assistant evangelist and was baptized in 1912 (Alida Chatelin, *Héli Chatelin*, 302). Twenty-two fugitive slaves lived in Lincoln in 1917 (p. 343).

¹⁹⁴ "Il désire aussi qu'on fasse un article sur les avantages des missions industrielles. M. Héli croit que c'est le meilleur moyen d'évangéliser" (Min. Mission Philafricaine, 22.9.1906).

¹⁹⁵ *Joseph Booth had very similar plans, laid out in his programmatic book: Joseph Booth (Laura Perry [ed.]), *Africa for the African*, Blantyre: CLAIM-Kachere, ³1998 (1897), 75-78. He equally failed to establish new industrial missions from the profits of the established industrial missions. Joseph Booth also planned the Baptist Industrial Mission of Scotland as an industrial mission, but despite heroic efforts, Gowa Mission never became self-supporting, as the distance to the next railhead

never managed to open even a second station and, after his death, the Mission Philafricaine gradually conformed more and more to the usual patterns of faith missions in Africa. In 1952, it united with the Schweizer Allianz Mission, which goes back to Fredrik Franson.¹⁹⁶

The idea of the industrial mission was at the same time useful and dangerous for faith missions: it encouraged the opening of new missions in unreached areas without having to secure a financial base first. On the other hand, the industrial mission concept tempted the home constituencies to equip and supply their missionaries inadequately. Hudson Taylor took the 'faith principle' of financing a mission,¹⁹⁷ which assured its independence,¹⁹⁸ from George Müller (1805-1898), who had founded a big orphanage in Bristol.¹⁹⁹ George Müller, in turn, had received the 'faith'

was too big (Mark Thiesen, "Baptist History of Gowa Mission," ch. 4 in his dissertation on the history of the Churches of Christ in Malawi (Mzuzu University, forthcoming [2018]).

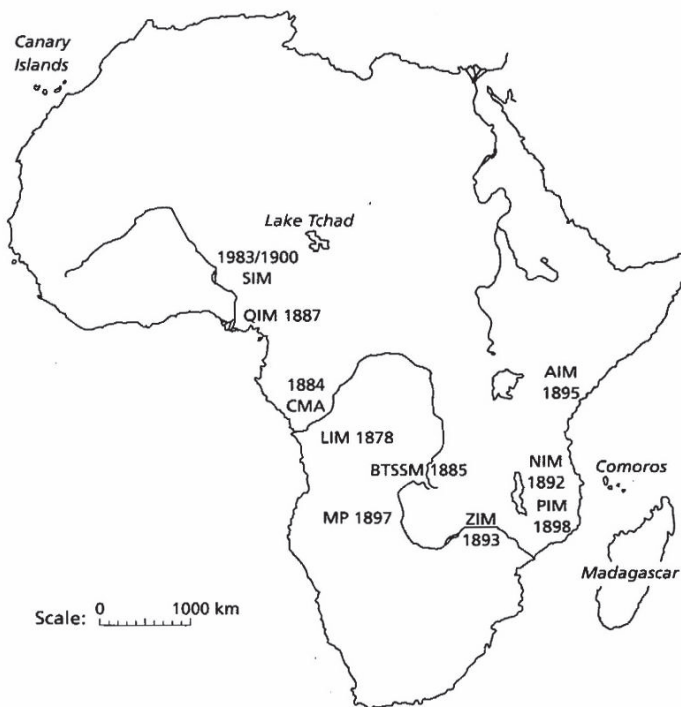
¹⁹⁶ Vereinbarung zwischen der Allianz-China-Mission und der Philafrikanischen Mission, valid as from 1 January 1952.

¹⁹⁷ The best source for his 'faith principles' is: George Müller, *A Narrative of some of the Lord's dealings with George Müller written by himself* (9th edition), London, 1895 (¹1837).

¹⁹⁸ "At last, on December 12, 1829, I came to the conclusion to dissolve my connexion with the society ... and to trust Him for the supply of my temporal wants" (George Müller, *A Narrative*, ⁹1895, 52).

¹⁹⁹ A.T. Pierson, *George Müller of Bristol*, London, ⁶1901.

'INDUSTRIAL MISSIONS' FOUNDED IN AFRICA BY FAITH MISSIONS



Abbreviations:

AIM:	Africa Inland Mission
BTSSM:	Bishop Taylor's Self-Supporting Missions
CMA:	Christian and Missionary Alliance (A. B. Simpson/USA)
LIM:	Livingstone Inland Mission
MP:	Mission Philafricaine
NIM:	Nyasa Industrial Mission
PIM:	Providence Industrial Mission
QIM:	Qua Iboe Mission
SIM:	Sudan Interior Mission
ZIM:	Zambezi Industrial Mission

principle' from Anthony Norris Groves, the first Brethren missionary.²⁰⁰ For independent missionaries (Brethren and non-Brethren), he created the 'Scriptural Knowledge Institution for Home and Abroad.'²⁰¹ Its support for a number of missionaries of the early CIM, including Hudson Taylor, played an important role in the formative phase of the faith mission movement.²⁰²

George Müller worked more indirectly for foreign missionary work, but he nevertheless provided the impetus for the foundation of the first German faith mission. Ludwig Doll²⁰³ (1846-83), (Reformed) pastor at Neukirchen, heard George Müller when he visited the Rhineland in the spring of 1877. On the same faith principles as Müller, he started an orphanage in 1878, a

²⁰⁰ "M. Müller, of Bristol, in his Narrative (p. 44) speaks of the example of Mr. Groves, as making a great 'impression' on him, and 'delighting him much', and when he himself decided to look to the Lord alone, for the supply of his wants, he says, after alluding to the promises of God, as the 'stay' of his soul; in addition to this, the example of Brother Groves was a great encouragement to me (p. 52)" (*Memoir of Anthony Norris Groves, compiled chiefly from his journals and letters, to which is added a supplement, 'Containing Recollections of Miss Paget, and accounts of Missionary works in India, etc.'* By his widow, London, 1869). *An excellent monograph is: Robert Bernard Dann, *Father of Faith Missions. The Life and Times of Anthony Norris Groves*, Waynesboro/Milton Keynes, 2004. For the origins of the "Faith Principle" see the chapter "A New Way of Life" (pp. 65-75). Groves expressed his views in: Anthony Norris Groves, *Christian Devotedness*, Piccadilly: Hatchard, 1825. Second edition (with replies to critical questions) London: James Nisbet, 1929.

²⁰¹ For its principles see: F. Roy Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement. Its Origins, its Worldwide Development and its Significance for the Present Day*, Exeter 1968, 46-47.

²⁰² See Moira McKay, *Faith and Facts in the History of the China Inland Mission 1832-1905*, *MLitt Aberdeen* 1981, 217f.

²⁰³ For Doll's theology see: Bernd Brandl, "Ludwig Doll: Der Gründer der ersten deutschsprachigen Glaubensmission" in *Evangelikale Missiologie*, 1988, 41-46.

mission magazine in 1879,²⁰⁴ and, in 1882, a missionary training institute.²⁰⁵ The 'Waisen- und Missionsanstalt Neukirchen' (Neukirchener Mission),²⁰⁶ the first German faith mission, was not greeted with enthusiasm by the German classical missions,²⁰⁷ but in the end even Gustav Warneck agreed that the mission had become an avenue to missionary service for many who would not have been acceptable for classical missions because of their different concept of the church.²⁰⁸

During the first half century of their existence, faith missions managed to define their principles and to adapt them to the varied situations at home and overseas. They also managed to come to an arrangement with the classical missions. This was made easier by the fact that faith missions (with very few exceptions)²⁰⁹ worked in unreached areas and that they often drew their support from quite different home constituencies than the classical missions. Perhaps the greatest achievement in missiological terms was that faith missions (in contrast to the independent missions and the

²⁰⁴ 'Neukirchener Missions- und Heidenbote.' There are similarities between this magazine and Fanny Guinness' magazine *Regions Beyond* and A.B. Simpson's *The Gospel in All Lands* and *The Word, the Work and the World* (WWW).

²⁰⁵ Opened on 27 August 1882. See: *Missions- und Heidenbote*, 1882, 74; AMZ 9 (1882), 505 (with critical remarks on the 'faith principles').

²⁰⁶ Ulrich Affeld, *Er mache uns im Glauben kühn. 100 Jahre Neukirchner Mission*, Wuppertal, 1978; Wilhelm Oehler, *Geschichte der deutschen Evangelischen Mission*, vol 2, Baden Baden, 1951, 47-49.

²⁰⁷ Warneck in AMZ 1882, 505; Ulrich Affeld, *Er mache uns im Glauben kühn*, 21; For the Neukirchen understanding of the 'faith principle' see: AMZ 25 (1898), 125.

²⁰⁸ Oehler, *Geschichte* 2, 46. *For a definite study of the Neukirchen Mission see: Bernd Brandl, *Die Neukirchener Mission. Ihre Geschichte als erste deutsche Glaubensmission*, Köln/ Neukirchen-Vluyn: Rheinland-Verlag/Neukirchener Verlag, 1998, based on his PhD at the Evangelical Theological Faculty in Leuven (1997).

²⁰⁹ Two possible exceptions are Zambezi Industrial Mission (Mitsidi, 1892) Nyassa Industrial Mission (Likhubula 1893), both founded by Joseph Booth. But even they worked predominantly among non-Christians, although they started in the vicinity of the Church of Scotland Mission in Blantyre, less than 10 km away. Before starting at Mitsidi, Booth had been granted land by the Makololo chief Maseeya in the Lower Shire area, but the colonial administration did not allow him to take up that offer because he was seen as too much of an anticolonialist.

non-church missions) managed to develop clear and effective organizational structures, and to defend them against widespread questioning.

This process was often cumbersome, especially in the early years. The faith missions worked with different personnel, with a different set of supporters, with different principles and, to a significant extent, with a different theology. This meant that faith missions could profit only slightly from the experiences that classical missions had gained over a period of two generations. Still, they managed to push forward the frontiers of Christian missions in a remarkable way.

Chapter 3: Not an Easy Endeavour: Faith Missions in Africa

By 1875, classical Protestant missions had managed to establish the church permanently in Africa south of the Sahara, and about one million Africans had been won to the Christian faith.¹ But their distribution was very uneven: Christianity was strongest in Southern Africa, Madagascar and Uganda and in certain coastal areas of West Africa. Even before the coming of colonial rule, some rulers had been baptized (like in Uganda and Madagascar) and folk churches² had come into existence. The starting point for the evangelization of Western Africa had been mainly Sierra Leone with its freed slave settlements. From there missionary work had reached Nigeria, and Samuel Crowther had even established the Anglican mission diocese of the Niger.³ But missionary work only touched the southern third of present-

¹ WCE, 782, gives a total of 3,108,450 Protestants and Anglicans for 1900 (of the total population, 9.9% were Christians). Warneck, *Abriß*, 310, gives 1,123,000 Protestants, not counting European immigrants. In *Christian Alliance Foreign Missionary Weekly* (3 Juli 1895), A. B. Simpson estimated that there were about one million Protestant Christians, half of them European immigrants. In 1882, Simpson mentioned 100,000 Protestant African full church members and 300,000 hearers, and the same number for Madagascar (*The Work and the World*, June 1882). William Coppinger, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, counted for 1880 506,966 Protestant Christians, including immigrants, with 122,700 full members (*The Work and the World*, 1882, p. 113).

² I use this term to describe churches which, in theory or in fact, identify with the social entity they belong to (state, tribe, territory and so on), claiming authority in it and encompassing as its members a considerable section of that social entity. The German term would be 'Volkskirche.' This is often translated national church or territorial church ('Landeskirche'). Folk church has less of a political connotation. If the term "Volkskirche" alludes somewhat to folklore, that is its intention: the folk churches do indeed provide quite some folklore for the people (in the context of transition rites, festivals and public functions).

³ See: E.A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914. A Political and Social Analysis*, London 1966; J.F. Ade Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891. The Making of a New Elite*, London 1965.

day Nigeria. Various missions had managed to gain a foothold at the West African coast (Liberia, Ghana, Togo, Cameroon, Gabon), but they did not penetrate far inland.⁴ Since the German Pietist Krapf, working for the CMS had started Protestant missionary work in Kenya in 1844, some more missions had started to work at the coast, but penetrated inland very slowly.⁵ The Muslim Maghreb was completely unreached. There were missionaries in Egypt, but they worked mainly among Copts. Similar attempts to infuse the Coptic church of Ethiopia with new spiritual life had been made, but the attempt to reach the Oromo ('Galla') from there had failed.

When, in about 1875, the interior of Africa became gradually more accessible to European initiatives, the classical missions found it difficult to use these new opportunities. The most important reason was that they had more than enough to do to keep the work going which they had started and to expand it slowly. The situation was made even more difficult by the fact that the average life span of missionaries in West Africa was short⁶ and also that the home boards had trouble finding the necessary money.⁷

The strategic concepts of the faith missions

The political developments which found their summary expression in the 1884-85 Berlin Conference ('scramble for Africa'), and the great exploratory journeys of men like Livingstone and Stanley made all the interior of Africa accessible (for missionaries as well) before the turn of the century. Before

⁴ For early West African church history see: Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: The Religious Impact*, London 1983.

⁵ For an overall view of East African church history see: William B. Anderson, *The Church in East Africa 1840-1974*, Nairobi/Dodoma/Kampala ²1981 (1977). For the early years, see: Roland Oliver, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*, London, ²1965 (1952).

⁶ Discussed in detail in: Werner Ustorf, *Die Missionsmethode Franz Michael Zahns und der Aufbau kirchlicher Strukturen in Westafrika (1862-1900)*, Erlangen 1989, 92-101.

⁷ A.T. Pierson reported, for example, in 1890 that the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions (United States) had an abiding deficit of \$60.000 (*MRW*, 1890, 525).

1885, missionaries sometimes reached an area of Africa before the colonialists but later the reverse was true (with few exceptions). In their early decades, the classical missions had largely worked (with much sacrifice) at the fringe of a continent that was opening up slowly to European influences. Now that the whole continent became accessible in a very short period, they were unable to meet the additional challenge, because their forces were already far too thinly spread out.

The Priority of the Unreached

In 1875 there were, in missionary terms, four great unreached areas in Africa: Central Africa, the Congo Basin, the Sudan Belt and Muslim North Africa.

- Central Africa: it was Livingstone who drew attention to this area, and the missions which responded were primarily classical missions. But a new development took place: Through Frederick Stanley Arnot (1858-1914)⁸ the non-church mission of the Brethren started to work as from 1881 in that area, which was to become the most important Brethren mission field in Africa.⁹ Arnot opened also for other missions the way into Central Africa.¹⁰
- The Congo Basin: the largest part of it was made accessible to Europe by Stanley's famous 999 days' journey from the East Coast to the mouth of the Congo.¹¹ Among the classical missions only the English

⁸ Fredrick Stanley Arnot, *Missionary Travels in Central Africa*, London, 1914.

⁹ This area, called the 'Beloved Strip', comprised large sections of the Highlands in Angola, Zambia und Zaire. The Brethren missions working in the Beloved Strip were: Garangaze Evangelical Mission (1886) and Luanza Mission (1894), both Open Brethren; and the Westcott Mission (1897), and the North Sankuru Mission (1930), both Exclusive Brethren, which joined in 1962 to form the North Kasai Mission.

¹⁰ Reinhard Henkel, *Christian Missions in Africa. A Social Geographical Study of the Impact of their Activities in Zambia*, Berlin 1989, 29.

¹¹ Henry Morton Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent* (two volumes), London, 1899.

Baptists and the American Presbyterians felt able to use this opportunity.¹²

- The Sudan Belt: The largest unreached area and, in many respects, the most inaccessible one was the Sudan Belt. In those days, the term 'Sudan' comprised the whole area from Senegal to the borders of Ethiopia.¹³ In its eastern section the southern border was at the same time the northern border of the equally unreached Congo Basin. Lake Chad was considered the Center of the Sudan. Its inaccessibility was due to the climate and to political circumstances. Only the defeat of the Mahdi by the British in the battle of Omdurman (2.9.1898) had made the eastern part accessible, and the subjection of the northern Nigerian Emirates to British rule had made travelling, if not missionary work, in that area much easier. It is not that colonial rule made missionary work that much easier everywhere: The French colonial authorities prevented Protestant missions quite arbitrarily from working in their domains, and the British sometimes did not allow missionary work among Muslims, like in the Sudan.
- Muslim North Africa: hindrances to missionary work in North Africa were not due to the climate, but of a religious nature. The classical missions had made a few attempts at missionary work among the Muslim in North Africa, had indeed reached some for Christ in Egypt, but had not been able to establish a foothold in the Maghreb.

None of the early faith missions wanted to work where other missions were already working. They even avoided to work close to them, as they saw missionary work in the remaining unreached areas of the globe as the only

¹² From 1878, the BMS tried to gain access to the navigable Congo River through Northern Angola, and it reached Kinshasa in 1882. It extended its work speedily upriver and reached Yakusu near Kisangani in 1896. The American Presbyterian Mission started 1891, but it was only in 1910 that a real extension of their activities became possible (Cecilia Irvine, *The Church of Christ in Zaire*, 52f).

¹³ Grattan Guinness, "The Soudan" in *Faithful Witness*, 7 December 1889.

reason for their very existence.¹⁴ This made it comparatively easy for the classical missions to accept the newcomers. Often they were even very welcome, because they tried to answer to needs, which the classical missionaries had perceived, too, but were not able to answer in addition to what they were already doing.¹⁵ The faith missions' priority for the unreached areas meant that they not only had to cope with their own inexperience, but also with the political, logistic and health problems which such an advance entailed.

A Chain of Mission Stations

As far as strategy was concerned, Paul, whose policy it always was to preach where no one else had preached before him,¹⁶ remained the shining example for the faith missions (not only) in Africa. For the early faith mission strategists, the unreached areas of the interior of Africa seemed vast, and little was known about them. To make missionary work in this area imaginable, they adopted the 'chain concept', which seems to have been developed originally by Christian Friedrich Spittler (1782-1867), the founder of the Pilgermission St. Chrischona, and propagated by Johann Ludwig Krapf (1810-81), who started Protestant missionary work in East Africa in 1844.

In the 1830s Spittler had taken up ideas from Felician Count Zaremba (1794-1874)¹⁷ to propose a "pilgrims' road" from Jerusalem to Ethiopia.¹⁸ Laymen

¹⁴ As a matter of fact, they were also proponents of new missionary principles, but the missions were not very conscious of this fact as a motivating force for missionary expansion.

¹⁵ This applies especially to the CMS, which, like the faith missions, was strongly influenced by the Keswick Movement

¹⁶ "Thus, making it my ambition to preach the gospel, not where Christ has already been named, lest I build on another man's foundation, but as it is written, 'They shall see who have never been told of him, and they shall understand who have never heard of him' (Romans 15:20-21)."

¹⁷ A Russian Reformed missionary of German ancestry working for the Basel Mission which Spittler had founded in 1815.

¹⁸ Karl Rennstich, *Nicht jammern, sondern Hand anlegen! Christian Friedrich Spittler. Sein Werk und Leben*, Metzingen 1987, 59.

('pilgrims') were to man the stations, earn their living by their craft or trade and by their 'simple testimony' do missionary work. When, in 1846, Samuel Gobat (1799-1879)¹⁹ was made Bishop of Jerusalem, Spittler took the opportunity to establish a 'Brüderhaus' there as the base of the "pilgrims' road." In 1854 Chrischona sent the first 'missionary pilgrims.' From 1858 onwards Spittler tried to establish the 'pilgrims' road' as the "apostles' road": At a regular distance of fifty hours travelling time, twelve mission stations were to be established, each bearing the name of one of the apostles.²⁰ From Ethiopia southwards the 'prophets' road' was to follow, with another twelve mission stations. But Spittler only managed to establish some of the stations and, because of the English-Ethiopian war of 1866-68 and financial difficulties, the idea was abandoned.²¹ Johann Ludwig Krapf had received his training at the Basel Mission Seminary and joined the CMS to work in Ethiopia. In 1844, he established Rabai Mission in Kenya. He considered this lonely station to be the first link in a chain of mission stations reaching from there to the Atlantic Coast.²² Krapf never managed to establish more than this one station in Mengo was not the final link in a long chain of mission stations, but the bridge-head of a 'daring leap forward.'²³

When Peter Cameron Scott founded the AIM in 1895, he took up this vision, though he varied it somehow: his aim was to establish a chain of mission stations from the east coast to Lake Chad. As the CMS already worked at Mombasa, he began his work at Nzawi, 400 km inland. In general, the idea

¹⁹ Alfred Kober, *Samuel Gobat. Vom Juradorf nach Jerusalem*, Basel, 1968. Gobat, trained at the Basel Mission Seminary, became Bishop of Jerusalem on 1 January 1847 (p. 71).

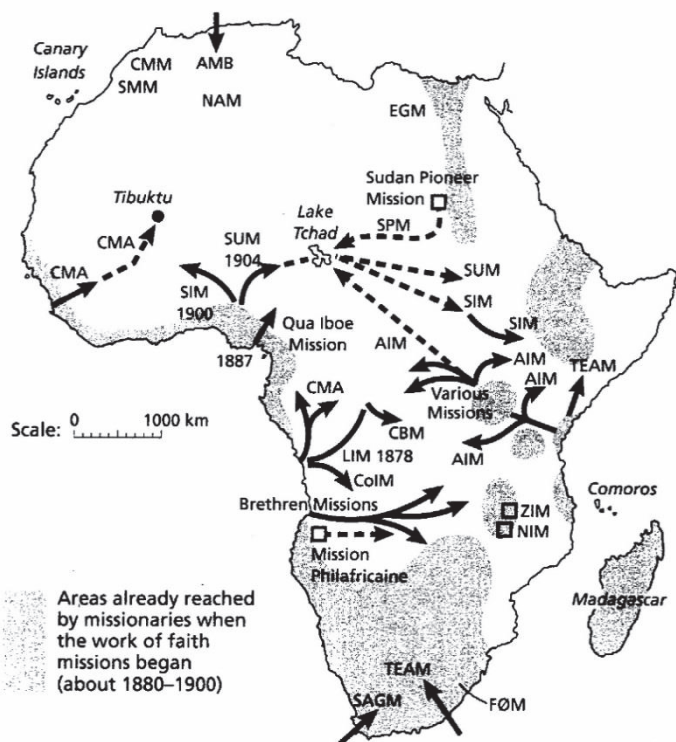
²⁰ *See: Andreas Baumann, *Die Apostelstraße. Eine außergewöhnliche Vision und ihre Verwirklichung*, Gießen/Basel: Brunnen, 1999.

²¹ Erich Schick und Klaus Haag, *Christian Friedrich Spittler. Handlanger Gottes*, Gießen/ Basel ²1982, 80f.

²² In 1844, Ludwig Krapf had developed the plan of a chain of nine or ten mission stations stretching from Mombasa to Gabon. Each station was to be occupied by four missionaries (AMZ, 9 [1882], 246).

²³ Dr Louise Pirouet, Makerere College, Kampala, Uganda 1965.

THE ADVANCE OF FAITH MISSIONS AND THE BRETHREN MOVEMENT MISSIONS IN THE 'UNREACHED' PARTS OF AFRICA



Abbreviations:

AIM: Africa Inland Mission (1895)
 AMB: Algiers Mission Band
 CBM: Congo Balolo Mission
 CMA: Christian and Missionary Alliance (A. B. Simpson/USA)
 CMM: Central Morocco Mission
 CoIM: Congo Inland Mission
 EGM: Egypt General Mission
 FOM: Frie Østafrikanske Mission
 LIM: Livingstone Inland Mission (1878)
 NAM: North Africa Mission

NIM: Nyasa Industrial Mission
 SAGM: South Africa General Mission
 SIM: Sudan Interior Mission (1900)
 SMM: Southern Morocco Mission
 SPM: Sudan Pioneer Mission
 SUM: Sudan United Mission (1904)
 TEAM: The Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America
 WEC: Worldwide Evangelization Crusade
 ZIM: Zambezi Industrial Mission

of a chain of mission stations was difficult to realize, because cultural, linguistic, logistic and political arguments determined the position of a mission station, not the abstract 'chain idea.' In addition, secular means of transport became available soon or even were available before, so that a chain of mission stations would lose its logistic function.

After the AIM had survived its first great crisis, the AIM continued to expand westwards.²⁴ Further westwards lay Uganda which, according to Scott's understanding, was already evangelized by the CMS. This area was part of the chain Mombasa - Chad, but not an area for the AIM to work in. Therefore, the AIM tried from 1910 onwards to establish the next foothold in north eastern Zaire.²⁵ Part of this endeavour was an agreement with C.T. Studd, that he should start the work there with an 'independent British branch' of the AIM.²⁶

Soon, Studd felt his independence to be threatened²⁷ and he demanded independence for his 'branch.' Failing to achieve this independence, he and Alfred Buxton resigned from the AIM,²⁸ which agreed to divide up the area.²⁹ The AIM took the Northern section since it was directed towards Lake Chad. In 1917, this 'last frontier' was envisaged. The title page of *Inland*

²⁴ When, in 1909, the AIM took over from the Anglicans Nasa at the Southern end of Lake Victoria, this was more a step sideways.

²⁵ In *Hearing and Doing* August/September 1913, 17 northern Zaire and northern Uganda are depicted as steps towards Lake Chad.

²⁶ He was accepted into AIM (having filled out his medical report himself) on 14.1.1913 and appointed 'Field Director' (Min. First Meeting of the English Council, with Hulbert present).

²⁷ Min. Executive Meeting, 22.1.1913. The Council accepted Studd's view that he "should report in the first place to ... this Council", not to the General Director.

²⁸ His proposed alterations to the constitution were submitted by Sutton, Buxton and Ingram (Minutes, 3.3.1913), after he had left for Zaire. When no agreement could be reached, they presented Studd's letter of resignation and resigned themselves, too, to form a body to represent Studd in Britain (Cable Buxton, Sutton, Coleman, Ingram - Studd, 4.3.1913).

²⁹ Minutes, 3.3.1913; Cable Holden, Hubert—AIM-UK, 4.3.1913. See Alfred Buxton, *The First Ten Years of the Heart of Africa Mission 1913-1922*, London⁵1927.

*Africa*³⁰ was decorated with a map which visualized the Mombasa-Chad vision. On it the final 1000 miles were marked.³¹ In 1924 the AIM started work in the Eastern corner of the Central African Republic. But in spite of many reminders of the original vision of its founder, the AIM did not dare to advance further.³²

The other great vision was that of a chain of mission stations from the Nile to the Niger, or from the Niger to the Nile. Its promulgator was Karl Kumm. The first attempt to realize this vision was from Aswan, with the help of the Sudan-Pionier-Mission, the attempt failed.³³ Soon the German mission supporters considered this to be incompatible; however, for logistic reasons it would have been most difficult to reach the populated areas of Nigeria from the East, and the number of supporters of his mission in Germany

³⁰ *Inland Africa* was the continuation of *Hearing and Doing* (*Hearing and Doing*). Over the years *Hearing and Doing* had become the magazine of the AIM only.

³¹ *Inland Africa* January/February 1917, 1. Along the Western border of Sudan another 1,000-mile advance is being charted. In 1936, AIM started indeed to work in Sudan, but in a small area in the South Eastern corner that had not been assigned to a mission yet under the comity agreements.

³² In 1926 Hurlbert, who had been the guardian of the Chad vision, left the AIM, and his vision was no longer taken up. The AIM now (1993) has missionaries in Chad, working with Chadian missionaries of the Église Évangélique au Tchad (Anderson—Fiedler, 9/1993).

³³ Min. SPM, 25 October 1900; *Der Sudan Pionier*, 1901, 47; *Der Sudan Pionier*, 1901, 79 stresses that SPM is not to work among Muslims only.

would have been too small for such a far-flung advance.³⁴ In 1904 the SUM started to work at the other end of the chain.³⁵

In 1909, Kumm once again took up the idea of a missionary advance beyond northern Nigeria³⁶ and travelled from the Niger to the Nile to further his vision.³⁷ C.T. Studd wanted to accompany him, but was prevented by a bout of malaria. When Kumm returned, he suggested that Studd should advance from the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan westwards,³⁸ whereas the SUM was to advance from northern Nigeria eastwards.³⁹ With Bishop Gwynne, Khartoum, and Rev. A. Shaw of the CMS he made a reconnaissance trip into the Bahr-el-Ghazal. Because Studd found too few people living there, he did

³⁴ In 1902 Kupfernagel suggested to sell the house in Aswan and to start missionary work further south. His suggestion was first treated as not urgent (Min. SPM, 10.4.1902) and was then rejected (Min. SPM, 23 October 1902); *Der Sudan Pionier* 1902, 88 stresses that the mission still has all the Sudan in view, but maintains that the 300 km to Wadi Halfa will be sufficient for its limited resources for a long time to come. In 1928, the name was changed to 'Evangelische Muhammedaner-Mission' (Min. 3.10.1928); in 1953, to 'Evangelische Mission in Oberägypten'; in 1991, to 'Evangeliumsgemeinschaft Mittlerer Osten.' The meanwhile fully independent Swiss branch is named 'Evangelische Nillandmission.'

³⁵ *For a deep overall study of the evangelization of the Sudan Belt see: Christof Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt: Guinness, Kumm and the Sudan-Pionier-Mission*, Nürnberg: VTR, 2005 (based on his UNISA PhD 2003).

³⁶ "[The SUM objective] is not merely to work in Northern Nigeria, but to establish a chain of Missions across Africa from the Niger to the Nile and that an appeal be made to the Christian Public for at least 100 more men to further this great project" (Min SUM 2.4. 1909).

³⁷ He started in Northern Nigeria on 16 February 1909 and arrived in Khartoum on 3 December 1909. (Karl Kumm, *From Hausaland to Egypt through the Sudan*, London 1910.)

³⁸ His intended mission was to bear the name 'Eastern Sudan Evangelical Mission' (Eileen Vincent, *C.T. Studd and Priscilla. United to Fight for Jesus*, Bromley/Gerrards Cross/ Eastbourne 1988, 152). The mission committee was most probably disbanded soon after, and Studd turned to the AIM.

³⁹ Alfred Buxton, *The First Ten Years of the Heart of Africa Mission*, London, ⁵1927, 10. - *DACB: Buxton, Alfred.

not start missionary work there, although the CMS missionary work was extended into that area.⁴⁰

Because SUM was an international mission, Kumm suggested that each branch should take up one link in that chain: Australia and New Zealand were to work in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan,⁴¹ and Denmark was to work in Nigeria adjacent to the Cameroon border. The German branch was to work in Adamaoua in northern Cameroon,⁴² but the First World War made this impossible, so the Norwegian branch worked there instead.⁴³ The 'missing-link-country' was Chad, where SUM started work in 1926.⁴⁴

Similar to the AIM, SUM never attempted to establish a chain of missions, and its branches acted quite independently. There was never any link for example between the SUM-AUS/NZ work in the Nuba Mountains in the Sudan and the SUM activities in Chad. Each area had its own access to the coast or to Europe, and the branches had to deal with different colonial authorities. But nevertheless, for both AIM and SUM the idea of a chain of mission stations was extremely important as a propelling vision. In the 1930s, this vision lost its compelling power in the wake of the religious and economic depression in America and Europe.

The work of the CMA was also propelled by the vision of a chain of mission stations, this time from the West Coast to Timbuktu or even to Lake Chad.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Ibid. - Missions were established in Yambio, Yei und Lau.

⁴¹ Peter J. Spartalis, *To the Nile and Beyond. The Birth and Growth of the Sudanese Church of Christ*, Homebush West, NSW, 1981.

⁴² Karl Kumm, "Statement of Position of Sudan United Mission with Suggestions of possible future developments to the members of the various SUM Councils", June 1910.

⁴³ *Norske Missionstidende* 1921, 234f; *Det Norske Missionsselskaps Aarbok*, 1927, Stavanger 1928, 75 ("Den Nye Mission i Kamerun"); *Det Norske Missionsselskaps årboken for 1928*.

⁴⁴ See Florence Veary, *My Missionary Adventures ... With Three V's*, Toronto, 1977, 57ff.

⁴⁵ *CMA 4th Annual Report* (1900), 95. Sometimes the vision reached as far as Lake Chad (*International Missionary Alliance Seventh Annual Report* [13.10.1894], 18).

Without much regard to the required sacrifices and to effectivity and continuity, the CMA quickly advanced from the coast of Sierra Leone to the frontier of Guinea.⁴⁶ The French colonial authorities refused permission to continue until 1917. Permission granted, a quick advance to Timbuktu was made. Timbuktu seemed so desirable that the CMA relinquished its work in Sierra Leone. The chain of mission stations had no logistic use any more, because transport via the Guinean port of Conakry was much easier.⁴⁷

As in West Africa the CMA's early work in the Congo was dominated by the chain concept: the chain of mission stations was to extend from the Lower Congo to the Great Lakes. The CMA stuck to this idea even after it had become clear that Zaire could possibly be reached along the rivers, but not by a chain of stations overland.⁴⁸ Attempts to establish more than the very first links in that chain were not made, because the 'mission explosion'⁴⁹ had run its course and the CMA needed its resources for consolidation.

⁴⁶ The annual reports show that the missions were too distant from each other and understaffed. In addition, the idea of itinerant evangelism, looking always to regions yet unreached, sidetracked the missionaries from establishing a church.

⁴⁷ The CMA began to withdraw from Sierra Leone when, in 1917, it received the long-sought-for permission to work in French West Africa (Guinea). This permission made the long chain of mission stations stretching to the border of the Sudan useless, because access via Conakry was much easier. The missionary work in Sierra Leone was resumed in 1945 by the Missionary Church Association (in its origins related to CMA). The MCA history is described in: William Gerig, Missionary Church Association, unpublished, Fort Wayne Bible College. On pages 33-43 he describes the CMA's gradual abandonment of its Sierra Leone work. Gerig writes that after the withdrawal of the Waites in 1935, there was no missionary for 10 years. He does mention Kate Driscoll, a CMA missionary who refused to be withdrawn and stayed in the Temne area until she died in 1941, aged 73. Together with the Temne pastor Ned Driscoll she cared for the churches (p. 43). (When Ned married Elsa, a pupil of Kate Driscoll, they both assumed the name Driscoll because Kate Driscoll had helped both of them very much in spiritual matters.)

⁴⁸ The plan was to establish a chain of mission stations from the mouth of the Congo to Lake Tanganyika (*Eighth Annual Report International Missionary Alliance 1895*, 20-21).

⁴⁹ Niklaus/Sawin/Stoesz, *All for Jesus*, 91f.

When, after some time, new resources became available, the CMA expanded again, but not along the intended chain, but along the coast northwards into French colonial territory.⁵⁰

Héli Chatelin combined the chain idea with the concept of the industrial mission.⁵¹ He was convinced that each mission station could become self-supporting within a few years and then yield enough profit to establish another station further eastwards. Kalukembe (Lincoln) was envisaged as the first link in a chain reaching Katanga.⁵² But his economic ideas proved wrong,⁵³ and he failed to hold the coworkers he would have needed for further expansion.⁵⁴ Later the Mission Philafricaine narrowed its vision down to Angola, where it expanded, though not along an imaginary line.⁵⁵

The chain idea was to some extent successful, where there was a river to follow. The Livingstone Inland Mission pursued the aim of establishing a chain of mission stations to bypass the rapids of the Lower Congo, and then

⁵⁰ See *CMA Annual Report 1899/1900*, 14.

⁵¹ "Notre œuvre ne diffère que fort peu, en réalité, de certaines missions industrielles au Nyassa-Land et ailleurs" (Chatelin—Chamberlain, 11.11.1898 in: *Quatrième rapport, Mission Philafricaine*).

⁵² "To establish self-supporting, self-propagating, native civilized Christian towns in Africa" (Chatelin—Chamberlain, 20.11.1897). Chatelin computed the amount he had used for establishing Lincoln (including the first year) as \$6,000, expected that Lincoln would need a subsidy of \$2,500 the second year, almost nothing in the third year and that it would yield enough profit in the fourth year to start a new station (Philafrican Liberators' League [ed], "The First Expedition Successful", New York, 1897 in Alida Chatelin (ed), *Les Rapports de la Mission Philafricaine 1898-1905*, Lausanne, nd) - *For similar (and equally unsuccessful) calculations for Malawi see: Joseph Booth (ed. Laura Perry), *Africa for the African*, Blantyre: CLAIM-Kachere, 1998, 54-57, 75-85.

⁵³ *Le Philafricain*, July/August 1915.

⁵⁴ Rudolphe Bréchet, *J'ai ouvert une porte devant toi*, 12-15; Alida Chatelin, *Héli Chatelin*, 323.

⁵⁵ Map in Bréchet, *J'ai ouvert une porte devant toi*, second cover page.

to progress upriver.⁵⁶ The LIM achieved the first aim in 1883,⁵⁷ and it started to achieve the second,⁵⁸ when the mission was handed over to the ABMU which, very much to the disappointment of Fanny and Grattan Guinness, did not continue the advance upriver.⁵⁹ The same idea to advance along a river was employed by the Qua Iboe Mission in Nigeria (1887), but it advanced more slowly, and their river was much shorter. It did put into service a small steamer, which was useful until the building of roads made it redundant.

A related idea was that of a chain of mission stations as a barrier against the advance of Islam,⁶⁰ which was one of the basic ideas of the Sudan missions.⁶¹ This chain was to pass through all of West Africa.⁶² The missio-

⁵⁶ The first aim was to reach the Equator crossing the Congo River (Fanny Guinness, *The New World of Central Africa*, 307).

⁵⁷ The stations were: Palabala (1878), Banza Manteke (1879), Mukimvika (1881), Lukunga (1882), Mukimbungu (1882), Kintambo/Kinshasa (1883).

⁵⁸ In Kintambo/Kinshasa the steamer *Henry Reed* was assembled. The upriver Equator/ Wangata (later Bolenge) station was established. In 1897, the ABMU transferred Bolenge to the Disciples of Christ Congo Mission to begin its work there (Cecilia Irvine, *The Church of Christ in Zaire*, 74).

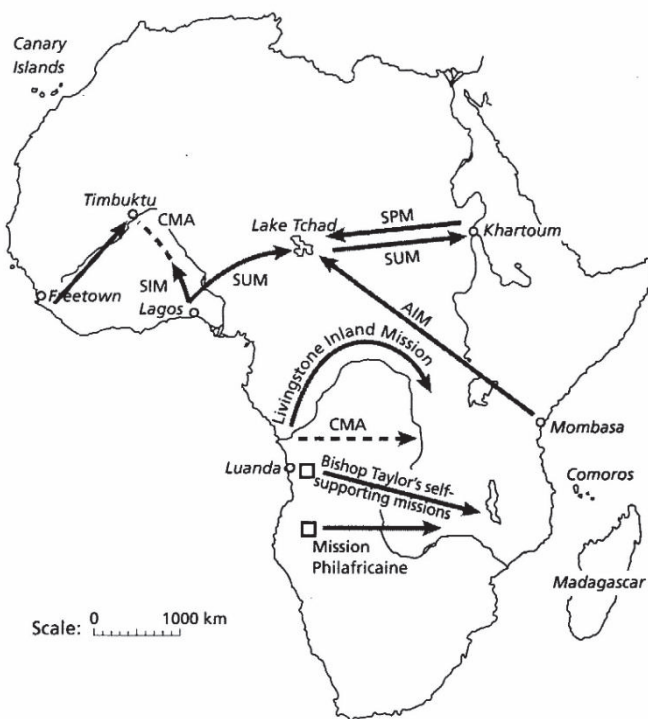
⁵⁹ In 1889 the Guinnesses took up the advance again by starting the Congo Balolo Mission.

⁶⁰ "Islam is crouching in the Soudan as for a southward spring upon the eight tribes [Ossambur, Irondili, Il Mero, Njamus, Kamasia, Suk, Karamoja, Turkana, all in Kenya]" (C. E. Hurlbert in *Hearing and Doing*, July-October 1906).

⁶¹ For example, *Norske Missionstidende*, 1921, 234f, in a report on plans for the Norske Sudanmission. The founding of Melut, the first (Australian) SUM station in Sudan was seen as a further link in the growing chain of mission stations along the borderline with Islam all across Africa (SUM Tenth Annual Report, 12.5.1914).

⁶² To make this possible, Kumm travelled from Nigeria to the Nile (*Daily Telegraph*, 30.12.1909: "Dr. Kumm's Journey across Africa—Starving in Swamps—Remarkable Narrative"). The report of his journey: Kumm, *From Haussaland to Egypt*. For Livingstone as Kumm's hero see: John H. Boer, *The Last of the Livingstones: A Study of H. Karl W. Kumm's missiological conceptions of civilization*, Free Reformed University of Amsterdam 1973.

THE CHAIN IN THE STRATEGY OF THE EARLY FAITH MISSIONS



Abbreviations:

- AIM: Africa Inland Mission
- CMA: Christian and Missionary Alliance
- SIM: Sudan Interior Mission
- SPM: Sudan Pioneer Mission
- SUM: Sudan United Mission

naries did not only fear the Muslim advance, they also feared the Catholic advance.⁶³ As the Catholics entered Africa from various points, a barrier was not possible. But one could try to 'be ahead of them' or 'not leave an area to the Catholics alone.'⁶⁴

Strategy and Reality

The chain idea and the industrial mission concept were strong motivating factors for the early faith missions. African reality did not usually fit these strategies, but even more serious was that the early faith missions greatly underestimated the time, the means and the personnell needed to establish a mission in an unreached territory.

The early missionary attempts from the West Coast were made under the premise of what was thought to be the cheap industrial missions, where missionaries were considered to be able to support themselves quickly through agriculture and trade.⁶⁵ The mission leaders did not realize that, to establish a profitable business in Africa, they would need far more in terms of money and equipment than that, for example, which the five missionaries of the Missionary Union for the Evangelization of the World

⁶³ Often Muslims and Catholics advanced much faster in the various writers' imagination than they did in real life. Even in those days of Muslim advance, a statement such as this was plainly wrong: "In very many parts of Africa, Catholic influence is advancing five times as fast as Protestant influence, but Muslim influence is spreading ten times as fast as Catholic influence" (*Hearing and Doing*, July-September 1909, 8). Even long after the Muslim advance had stopped, the dread of it was still there: "Yet, out of every ten Africans who change their religion today, seven become Moslems and only three become Christians. In the past 30 years, Islam has advanced 1,000 miles down Africa" (H.S. Hillyer, *Being Sent Forth. The Story of Canadian Baptist Missionary Advance into Angola*, Toronto, nd [1959], 10).

⁶⁴ This thought was also connected with the plan to start a German SUM branch to work in Adamaua (Ernst Lohmann [Orientmission]—Karl Kumm, 25 June 1912 and 8 July 1912).

⁶⁵ For example, *WWW*, 1885, 220.

had had to start with. When A.B. Simpson's New York Gospel Tabernacle⁶⁶ learned of their plea, they immediately sent more money,⁶⁷ but John Condit, the leader of the group, had already died of fever, and Jensen, Pearson and Quayle had already sold their equipment for \$600 to pay for the return tickets.⁶⁸

Frank Garrish considered their action to be rash and joined the ABMU, which had just taken over the work of the Livingstone Inland Mission.⁶⁹ If A.B. Simpson and his fellow workers had been able to learn from the experiences of Fanny Guinness Livingstone Inland Mission as they had learned from the experiences of the East London Training Institute, they would never have conceived the idea of establishing an industrial mission on the Lower Congo. Fanny Guinness had already realized that such a concept could not succeed and that, for effective missionary work in the Lower Congo, far greater means were needed. She also recognized that Africans needed to be employed and that the necessary trade goods to pay them had to be transported.⁷⁰

In spite of these experiences, Fanny and Grattan Guinness planned a new industrial mission on the Qua Iboe in Eastern Nigeria. Samuel Bill was to support himself and the work of the mission, but less through agriculture than through trade.⁷¹ Bill realized very quickly that he would have to compete with other traders and would have little time left for missionary

⁶⁶ Die Missionary Union for the Evangelization of the World was just a small department of the young New York Gospel Tabernacle Church.

⁶⁷ Three hundred dollars, "a considerable sum" (*WWW*, 1885, 220).

⁶⁸ *WWW*, 1885, 220.

⁶⁹ *WWW*, 1885, 220. See also: Cecilia Irvine, *The Church of Christ in Zaire*, 63. Frank Gerrish worked until 1888 for the ABMU, being paid by the New York Gospel Tabernacle. He died a year after returning to the United States. (Niklaus, Sawin and Stoesz, *All for Jesus*, 60).

⁷⁰ Fanny Guinness, *The New World of Central Africa*, 258, 303, 347.

⁷¹ *Qua Iboe Mission Occasional Paper*, October 1893.

work,⁷² so he preferred to ask his friends in Northern Ireland to organize a faith mission for him.⁷³

Rowland Bingham also failed with his industrial mission concepts. There are very few primary sources in existence on Bingham's 1893 attempt to establish a mission in northern Nigeria. Looking back on this attempt, Bingham recalled that, on arrival at Lagos, they realized that they were badly equipped and sold everything they could dispense with in order to be able to continue their work.⁷⁴ This allows the conclusion that they also had intended to establish a mission that was (at least partly) self-supporting. When Bingham made his second attempt, he expressed his concept through the name of the mission: not Sudan Interior Mission, but Africa Industrial Mission.⁷⁵ He went even so far as to insist no longer on the Sudan Belt as the field of service, thinking of smaller unreached areas in the vicinity of the Zambezi Industrial Mission in Malawi.⁷⁶ The first two missionaries were

⁷² *Qua Iboe Mission Occasional Paper, November 1890*. First of all, he would have had to compete against the Christian trader Williams from Sierra Leone. Williams and his wife had done all they could to help Samuel Bill after his arrival and had started the church there (Robert L. M'Keown, *Twenty-Five Years in Qua Iboe. The Story of a Missionary Effort in Nigeria*, London/Belfast 1912, 55; Jean S. Corbett, *According to Plan. The Story of Samuel Alexander Bill, Founder of the Qua Iboe Mission, Nigeria*, Worthing 1979 [1977], 19).

⁷³ First Qua Iboe Mission Association Annual Report (31 December 1889). Fanny and Grattan Guinness had paid his fare and equipment from gifts of the Regions Beyond Helpers' Union (M'Keown, *Twenty-Five Years*, 55).

⁷⁴ "Immediately, we saw that our resources were altogether inadequate for the long journey which lay before us through the unknown. We decided on a week of prayer and proposed to dispose of any keep-sakes or non-essential articles" (Bingham, *Seven Sevens of Years*, 16).

⁷⁵ Rowland V. Bingham, "Modern Industrial Missions. A Plea for Self-supporting and Self-Propagating Industrial Missions in Africa" in *The Faithful Witness*, 19 July 1898. "Africa Industrial Mission. Our Field. Nyassaland ... Another reason for the choice of this district is its suitability for industrial operations."

⁷⁶ Rowland V. Bingham, "Modern Industrial Missions" in *The Faithful Witness*, 19.7.1898.

even sent there to 'gain experience.'⁷⁷ After that, the mission decided for the Sudan Belt again,⁷⁸ but the industrial mission concept failed completely as a means to establish a mission in unreached territory. The only cash crop available would have been cotton. In producing cotton, the mission would have had to compete with the local African farmers without any hope of being able to produce cotton as cheaply as they could. In 1905, the mission board in Toronto began to accept the facts and renamed the Mission the Africa Evangelistic Mission, but still felt obliged to emphasize that the industrial mission concept should not be abandoned completely.⁷⁹ In 1907, the name Sudan Interior Mission was adopted once again (today, SIM International).

On the western coast, it was Héli Chatelin who most strongly propagated the industrial mission idea.⁸⁰ For him, too, it proved impossible to maintain the first station. In following his (and Simpson's) model, William Taylor did not fare much better. The American Episcopal Methodists had elevated him, in 1885, to 'Bishop of Africa.' In spite of this denominational tie (which permitted him to establish self-supporting missions with Methodists and non-Methodists alike, in all of Africa except in Liberia) his missions looked far more like interdenominational faith missions than like a classical denominational mission. William Taylor brought many missionaries with him. They had to earn their own support and did so often by teaching the children of white settlers. However, many of the missionaries were not happy and returned home, and many of the stations he founded were not viable.⁸¹ After his retirement in 1896, the Missionary Society of the

⁷⁷ Min. Africa Industrial Mission, 30.1.1899.

⁷⁸ Min. Africa Industrial Mission, 21.2.1899.

⁷⁹ Rowland V. Bingham, "A New Name for an Established Mission" in *The Missionary Witness*, 17 October 1905.

⁸⁰ *DOACB or web.

⁸¹ *MRW* regularly reported about Bishop Taylor's activities, over the years becoming quite critical.

Methodist Episcopal Church took over the work he had started and transformed it into a regular classical mission.⁸²

The only successful industrial missions were *not* established in *unreached territory*: the Zambezi Industrial Mission (1892) and the Nyassa Industrial Mission (1893).⁸³ Booth had placed these missions in a largely non-Christian area, although not in completely unreached territory;⁸⁴ they were situated only miles away from the Scottish Presbyterian mission station at Blantyre, founded in 1876.⁸⁵ Originally, Joseph Booth had wanted to start his mission further away from them, but he quickly realized that an industrial mission could only support itself if the area was already developed and had good transport connections. These two missions did indeed manage to support themselves.⁸⁶ New money was needed only for expansion,⁸⁷ and the schools were partly paid for by British 'friends of the mission'.⁸⁸ However, the success which, in 1898, served as a model for Bingham's Africa Industrial Mission,⁸⁹ did not last forever. In 1928, the earnings from agriculture declined dramatically due to the coffee blight, so that from 1930 onwards

⁸² Cecilia Irvine, *The Church of Christ in Zaire*, 62. In order to consolidate the work in Angola, the mission stations in Zaire (Vivi, Isangila und N'tombi with six missionaries) were given up.

⁸³ *Harry Langworthy, "Africa for the African." *The Life of Joseph Booth*, Blantyre: CLAIM-Kachere, 1996, 31-53.

⁸⁴ In this, he met with the Presbyterian missionaries' strong disapproval: George Shepperson and Thomas Price, *Independent African. John Chilembwe and the Origins, Setting and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Rising of 1915*, Edinburgh 1963 (1958), 32f.

⁸⁵ *More details in Harry Langworthy, "Africa for the African" *The Life of Joseph Booth*, Blantyre: CLAIM-Kachere, 1996, 53-61.

⁸⁶ Zambezi Industrial Mission, *Facts of Interest*, London 1911; 1900-28, ZIM was largely self-supporting. Three of the missionaries were paid with money from Britain (*The Zambezi Industrial Mission*, 31.3.1930).

⁸⁷ *The Christian*, 16.7.1925.

⁸⁸ *The Zambezi Industrial Mission*, 31.3.1930; *List of Nyasa Mission Schools with names of Supporters and Native Teachers* (nd, copy in Yale University Day Missions Library).

⁸⁹ Min. Africa Industrial Mission, 27.5.1898.

the English ZIM board, in a dramatic process of change, remodelled the ZIM into a faith mission like any other faith mission. In almost every case following the start of a faith mission, a severe crisis followed, in which the climate, insufficient equipment, lack of experience and personal peculiarities played a role. For LIM, the realization that the industrial mission idea was not viable was part of that crisis, but much more the fact that so many missionaries died during the first few years. The same applies to the Missionary Union for the Evangelization of the World (CMA) when it tried to work in the Lower Congo in 1885, and to the World's Gospel Union and the Evangelical Missionary Alliance (CMA) in 1890 in Sierra Leone.⁹⁰ With the AIM, the great initial crisis was not so much due to the death of the founder, Peter Cameron Scott,⁹¹ but because the remaining missionaries all developed ideas of their own. All the members of his family who had joined the mission left it to become settlers.⁹² The (Holiness) Quaker, Hotchkiss, decided to start a mission of his own church,⁹³ and Krieger left for doctrinal reasons.⁹⁴ The concept of a field-directed mission further contributed to the crisis. C.E. Hurlbert was, in the end, only able to solve the crisis by placing final authority in the Philadelphia Missionary Council.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ "In a Strange Land. Two Topeka Missionaries Lose their Lives" in *The Topeka Daily Capital*, 13.8.1890.

⁹¹ In addition to Scott, Jacob Toole and Thomas Allan also died.

⁹² Scott's sister Margaret belonged to the first missionary party, parents and sister Ines followed in 1896. His parents were the first to leave the mission to become settlers, and they later even transferred his remains to the settler cemetery at Nairobi. Margaret Scott married Wilson, a member of the first missionary party, and they became settlers, too. The situation was worsened by the fact that the Scotts used \$800 originally given for missionary work for themselves (with the consent of the donors, but without the knowledge of the missionaries) (*Hearing and Doing*, December 1897).

⁹³ Today the East Africa Yearly Meeting of Friends, the largest Quaker church outside the United States (100,000 members according to WCE).

⁹⁴ "Krieger will return home, being unwilling to continue on the doctrinal basis adopted at the founding of the mission" (*Hearing and Doing*, December 1897).

⁹⁵ The AIM became again a field directed mission when Hurlbert decided to become a missionary himself. His resignation in 1926 was partly due to the fact that

For the Scandinavian Alliance Mission, the crisis came when Lobengula, King of the Matabele, refused the missionaries permission to settle in his country.⁹⁶ After this refusal, they had no means of searching for another completely unreached territory, so they had to be content with a comparatively unreached area not far from Swaziland.⁹⁷ During this exploratory journey Anders Haugerud, the leader of this first group, died.⁹⁸

Despite of all these difficulties, caused as often as not by external factors, nearly all missions managed to establish themselves so that their work gave birth to churches which still exist today.

Early Expansion into New Areas (Until 1914)

Nearly all early faith missions had a vision of far reaching advance, but until 1914, almost none of them managed to start work in more than one area *and* to establish itself thoroughly. From 1910, however, there were some very interesting steps towards new advances. In 1909, the AIM had taken over from the CMS a new field in northern Tanzania.⁹⁹ In 1910, the AIM made the first attempt to establish a mission among the 'Niam-Niam Tribes' (Zande) in north-east Zaire;¹⁰⁰ in 1912, Kasungu opened as the first AIM mission station in Zaire.¹⁰¹ Contacts were also established with the West Nile Province of northern Uganda, where the CMS did not work, although a

the American Home Council had increasingly taken control (Anderson—Fiedler, September 1993).

⁹⁶ They could not accept his offer to return after a year as this trip had already severely strained their financial resources (William E. Dawson, *History of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission work in Africa 1892-1920*, nd [1933], 2-4).

⁹⁷ They started their work thirty miles from the nearest SAGM station, but in good fellowship (William E. Dawson, *History of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission Work in Africa*, 4ff).

⁹⁸ J.F. Swanson, *Three Score Years ... and Then. Sixty Years of Worldwide Missionary Advance*, Chicago, 198.

⁹⁹ *Hearing and Doing*, July-September 1909.

¹⁰⁰ *Annual Report AIM 1910*.

¹⁰¹ *Hearing and Doing*, April/June 1912. This was part of the chain vision of the AIM and developed into the church that is now CECA20.

mission station was only established in 1918.¹⁰² In addition, 1910 was the year in which Karl Kumm started to prepare his mission for a new advance.¹⁰³ In 1911, he travelled to Australia and New Zealand and got the SUM-AUS/NZ¹⁰⁴ to accept the work about to begin in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan as its main responsibility.¹⁰⁵ The CMS left the Melut area in Sudan to the SUM, hoping that it could evangelize the area more effectively.¹⁰⁶ In 1909, the Svenska Missionsförbundet managed to start work as the first Protestant mission in French Congo.¹⁰⁷ In 1911, the Neukirchen Mission began work in Burundi, also as the first Protestant mission there.¹⁰⁸ In 1911 the South African Branch of the SUM began its

¹⁰² John Dobson, *Daybreak in West Nile*, London nd (1963), 5.

¹⁰³ Karl Kumm, Statement of Position of Sudan United Mission, with Suggestions of Possible Future Developments to the Members of the Various SUM Councils, June 1910.

¹⁰⁴ SUM-AUS/NZ had already sent missionaries to Nigeria (William Fleming [New Zealand] in 1910 and C.T. Williams [Australia] in 1911).

¹⁰⁵ A carefully researched history of SUM-AUS/NZ is: Peter Spartalis, *To the Nile and Beyond. The Birth and Growth of the Sudanese Church of Christ, Homebush West NSW*, 1981

¹⁰⁶ The CMS had no personell in the area but did have a certain claim to it. In 1913, Bishop Gwynne himself accompanied the first SUM party to Melut and helped them to get established there (Peter Spartalis, *To the Nile and Beyond*, 8-14).

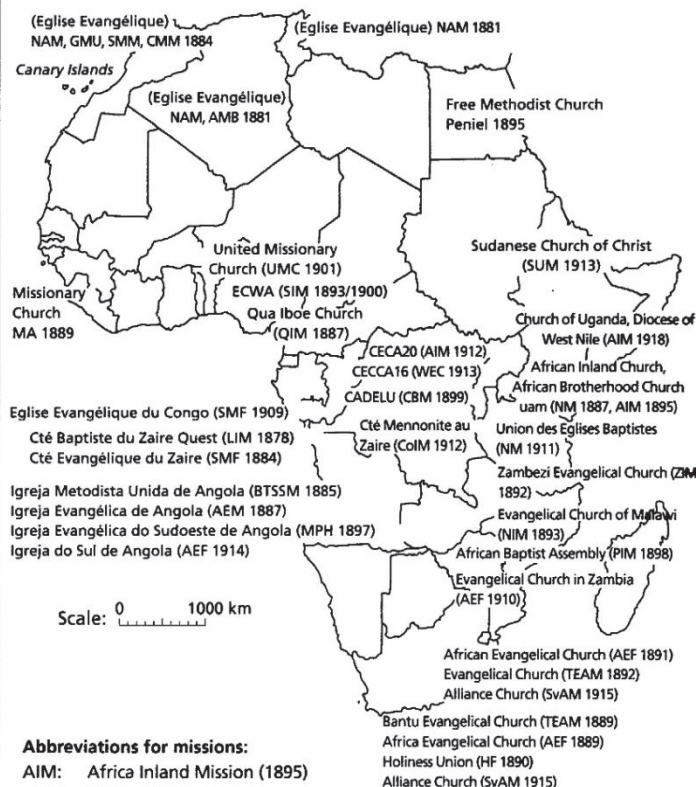
¹⁰⁷ Hilaire Nkounkou et al., *75e Anniversaire de la fondation de Madzia et de l'évangélisation du Congo par les missionnaires protestants*, Brazzaville, 1984. The resulting church is the Église Évangélique du Congo, with 120,000 members (WCE, 1975).

¹⁰⁸ The first station was Iruvura (Oehler, *Geschichte* 2,175). After World War I, the Neukirchen Mission (like the Bethel Mission in Rwanda) was not allowed back into the country. For how the work begun by Neukirchen was later continued, see: Donald Hohensee, *Church Growth in Burundi*, Pasadena, 1977.

Churches in Africa going back to faith missions

AEF	Africa Evangelical Fellowship
AIM	Africa Inland Mission
AMB	Algiers Mission Band
AEM	Angola Evangelical Mission
BTSSM	Bishop Taylor's Self-Supporting Missions
CBM	Congo Balolo Mission
CMA	Christian and Missionary Alliance
CMM	Central Morocco Mission
CoIM	Congo Inland Mission
GMU	Gospel Missionary Union
HF	Helgelseförbundet
LIM	Livingstone Inland Mission
MPH	Mission Philafricaine
NAM	North Africa Mission
NIM	Nyassa Industrial Mission
NM	Neukirchener Mission
PIM	Providence Industrial Mission
QIM	Qua Iboe Mission
SIM	Sudan Interior Mission
SMF	Svenska Missionsförbundet
SMM	Southern Morocco Mission
SUM	Sudan United Mission
SvAM	Svenska Alliansmissionen
TEAM	The Evangelical Alliance Mission
UMC	United Missionary Church
ZIM	Zambezi Industrial Mission

AFRICAN CHURCHES ORIGINATING IN THE FAITH MISSIONS FOUNDED BEFORE 1918



Abbreviations for missions:

- AIM: Africa Inland Mission (1895)
 AMB: Algiers Mission Band
 CMA: Christian and Missionary Alliance (A. B. Simpson/USA)
 CMM: Central Morocco Mission
 LIM: Livingstone Inland Mission (1878)
 NAM: North Africa Mission
 SIM: Sudan Interior Mission (1900)
 SPM: Sudan Pioneer Mission
 SUM: Sudan United Mission (1904)
 TEAM: The Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America
 WEC: Worldwide Evangelization Crusade
 ZIM: Zambezi Industrial Mission

Abbreviations for churches:

- CADELU: Cte Association des Eglises Evangéliques de la Lulunga
 CECA20: Cte Evangélique au Centre de l'Afrique
 CECCA1: Cte Evangélique du Christ au Coeur de l'Afrique
 COCIN: Churches of Christ in Nigeria
 ECWA: Evangelical Churches of West Africa
 (:): Churches unattached to an official organization

own work among the Tiv in Nigeria¹⁰⁹ and, in 1913, the Danish Branch started to work in the area of Numan.¹¹⁰ In 1914, the South Africa General Mission opened its first station in southern Angola. Then the war halted all advances.

The Faith Missions and the Depression

For all missions, the 1920s and 1930s were difficult years, because the war and its consequences had eroded the economic base for missionary support. Worse than the economic depression, however, was the spiritual depression which ran parallel to the world economic crisis, but had started before it.¹¹¹ The spiritual depression affected the 'old-line denominations' hardest,¹¹² but it did not spare the Evangelicals either.¹¹³ America's declaration of war against Germany had triggered off at least some religious enthusiasm, but that dwindled away after the war had ended. Church attendance decreased, home and foreign missions suffered from shortages of personell and funds.¹¹⁴ American Christianity was depressed,¹¹⁵ and the

¹⁰⁹ Eugene Rubingh, *Sons of Tiv*, Grand Rapids, 1969.

¹¹⁰ Edmund Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*, London ²1979 (1975), 162.

¹¹¹ Robert T. Handy, *The American Religious Depression, 1925-1935* (Presidential address, American Society of Church History, 1959).

¹¹² This term is now often being used to denote those churches which used to be called 'mainline churches' such as Anglicans, Presbyterians, American Baptists and Lutherans but excluding more recent churches such as Conservative Baptists (see Handy, *Religious Depression*, 10).

¹¹³ During 1928-33, CMA income dropped (only) by 35.2 per cent, whereas the 79 mainline and evangelical missions, which were members of the Foreign Missions Conference, experienced an average drop of 45.1 per cent. See Handy, *The American Religious Depression*, 10.

¹¹⁴ During 1923-29, the number of Protestant American missionaries sank by 4.7% (Handy, *The American Religious Depression*, 4).

¹¹⁵ Handy, *The American Religious Depression*, 6, points out that, in 1927, Reinhold Niebuhr was already aware of the depression: "A psychology of defeat, of which both fundamentalism and modernism are symptoms, has gripped the forces of religion" (Reinhold Niebuhr, *Does Civilization Need Religion? A Study in the Social Resources and Limitations of Religion in Modern Life*, New York 1927, 2).

aggressiveness of the liberals and fighting fundamentalists in those years seems to be evidence of that mood.¹¹⁶ Between the two wars, no far-reaching spiritual renewal occurred in Europe or America, and any hope that the material depression would usher in a spiritual revival, as it had done in 1858-59, proved futile.

The time between 1918 and 1940 is characterized by slow expansion of the faith missions in Africa. Some missions, which had started in English territories or in Zaire, managed to extend their work into French territories. During 1930-38, all the area of middle and northern Nigeria and of Zaire was finally divided up between the various missions which worked in comity with each other (in Nigeria, faith missions and classical missions; in Zaire, all Protestant missions). Often the aims of a mission were reduced to consolidation.

Contrary to the general trend, WEC embarked on a programme of expansion, reviving the concept of reaching the unreached, and, with it, the idea of 'inland mission.' Until WEC separated into Unevangelized Fields Mission¹¹⁷ and WEC in 1931,¹¹⁸ and until the death of Studd the same year, north-eastern Zaire was the only WEC mission field in Africa. Norman P. Grubb, Studd's son-in-law and successor, became convinced that the answer for the crisis of WEC should be a widespread advance into yet-unreached areas. Seven West African areas without any Protestant missionary work were singled out.¹¹⁹ The original idea had come to Grubb

¹¹⁶ 1925 was the year of the so-called Monkey Trial against John T. Scopes, which was a victory for the fundamentalists only in the legal sense of the term (Louis Gasper, *The Fundamentalist Movement 1930-1956*, Grand Rapids ²1981 [1963], 14).

¹¹⁷ The UFM (GB/US) has very little to offer on its history: Leonard F. Harris, *Our Days in His Hands. A Short History of the Unevangelized Fields Mission*, nd. For the history of UFM-AUS/NZ (Asia Pacific Christian Mission) there is a solid book: John und Moyra Prince, *No Fading Vision. 50 Years of Adventure with God*, Melbourne, 1981.

¹¹⁸ For the split see: 96-109; Leonard F. Harris, *Our Days in His Hands*, 11-13; John und Moyra Prince, *No Fading Vision*, 28-39. The archives are still closed.

¹¹⁹ See many detailed reports in *Worldwide*, 1934-40.

from Stanley Bennington of the Qua Iboe Mission in Nigeria. QIM always was a hardworking and solid mission, but it advanced slowly. In 1924, they started to look for a new area,¹²⁰ and, in 1931, they began to work in another area of Nigeria (Igala),¹²¹ but Bennington was convinced that a resolute advance into still completely unreached areas of West Africa was necessary. He managed to convince his mission to entrust him with the job¹²² and, after travelling several thousand kilometers investigating by car, he decided to start QIM work in French West Africa, at Bouroum Bouroum, in what is today Burkina Faso. Under the conditions of the Depression, the QIM was not able to invest as much as Bennington had counted on, so everyone was content when WEC agreed, in 1937, to continue the work there.¹²³ Why was WEC able to expand during the depression? One reason was the readiness for sacrifice which was part of 'WEC philosophy';¹²⁴ another was Norman P. Grubb's fascinating personality.¹²⁵

In the late 1930s, the American churches awoke from the Depression, but World War II and the transport problems it created hindered this awak-

¹²⁰ The work in Imo River District, begun in 1924, was soon abandoned because of a comity agreement. In 1928, the idea of taking up work in Cameroon was no longer pursued due to the return of the German missionaries (*Qua Iboe Mission Quarterly*, 8/1930; W.L. Wheatley, *Sunrise in Nigeria. A Record of Missionary Service from 1920 to 1952*, Belfast, 1977, 68-74).

¹²¹ J.W. Westgarth, *The Qua Iboe Mission Makes History*, 1946 (unpublished), 20ff. Wheatley, *Sunrise in Nigeria*, 76-79. Four Qua Iboe evangelists helped to start the work in Igala (Qua Iboe Mission Annual Report 1933).

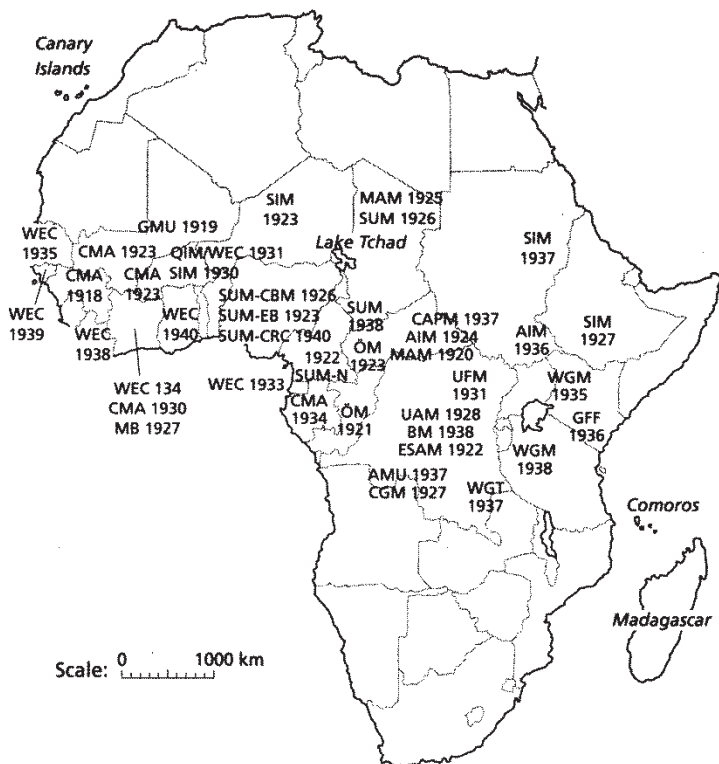
¹²² *Qua Iboe Mission Quarterly* 8/1930, 185. Annual Report 1931.

¹²³ In spite of "much publicity and prayer" no further missionaries volunteered. 'Station and converts' were handed over to WEC, and Bennington returned to Nigeria in November 1938 (Qua Iboe Mission Annual Report 1938).

¹²⁴ The four pillars were sacrifice, faith, holiness and fellowship.

¹²⁵ His autobiography (N.P. Grubb, *Once Caught, No Escape. My Life Story*) shows an impressive personality. Norman Grubb, born 2 August 1895, joined WEC-UK in 1919, still (1988) lives at Ft. Washington, the American center of the Christian Literature Crusade, a sister mission to WEC. His wife was Pauline Studd.

NEW MISSION WORK 1918–1940



Abbreviations:

AIM: Africa Inland Mission (1895)	NIM: Nyasa Industrial Mission
AMB: Algiers Mission Band	SAGM: South Africa General Mission
CBM: Congo Balolo Mission	SIM: Sudan Interior Mission (1900)
CMA: Christian and Missionary Alliance (A. B. Simpson/USA)	SMM: Southern Morocco Mission
CMM: Central Morocco Mission	SPM: Sudan Pioneer Mission
ColM: Congo Inland Mission	SUM: Sudan United Mission (1904)
EGM: Egypt General Mission	TEAM: The Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America
FØM: Frie Østafrikanske Mission	WEC: Worldwide Evangelization Crusade
LIM: Livingstone Inland Mission (1878)	ZIM: Zambezi Industrial Mission
NAM: North Africa Mission	

ening from contributing in any great measure to the expansion of faith missions. When America entered the war, the situation was made worse so that by the end of the war, there were many missionary candidates, but few means with which to send them to the field. The end of World War I had ushered in (or coincided with) a religious depression in America; the end of World War II ushered in (or coincided with) a religious revival. Interest in worldwide missions was greatly revived, too, and the United States became the leading Protestant sending country. Growing missionary interest was concentrated in the more conservative churches and congregations, which led to a drastic change in the mission structures, with the 'ecumenical' missions declining and the 'evangelical' missions dramatically growing.

African Churches

When Guinness, Simpson, Scott or Bingham developed their theology of mission before they began the actual work, the church on the mission field played hardly any role, simply because it did not yet exist. The problem they had to solve was, first of all, how to reach the unreached. They were not concerned in the main about how to structure an emergent indigenous church but spent all their energies on the tough work of starting missionary work in a given area—and sometimes fighting for mere survival. All this meant: evangelism first. Nonetheless, the 'young church' was not completely forgotten. For faith missions, it went without saying that converts would eventually be baptized and would form Christian congregations. In addition to an 'ecclesiastical reservation', there was also an 'eschatological reservation' which hindered far reaching thoughts about the church on the mission field. Because the mission's task was seen as proclaiming the Gospel (at least once) to everyone before the imminent return of Christ, there was not much sense in making long term plans for the emerging churches. The missionaries expected individual Africans to be converted. The missionaries would form local congregations for them, would teach them and lead them and, if at all possible, would train them to 'evangelize their own people.' But Christ would return long before an 'independent indigenous church' could come into existence.

Local churches were expected to come into existence. They would not have to comply to the form of any Western denomination, but should simply be 'biblical.' Their structures should be as simple as possible. No structures

beyond the local church were envisaged.¹²⁶ All this meant that the issue of the 'euthanasia of missions', so hotly debated in classical mission circles of those days, was no issue for the faith missions.

The emergent African church was also under the 'imperialist reservation.' When the classical missions had started their work in Africa, they knew that they could prosper if they were on good terms with the African rulers. But, by about 1875, nearly the whole of Africa came under European rule, and the faith missions only started their work in Africa after that. The feeling of European superiority, which became prevalent in that period, did not leave the faith missionaries untouched, either, which reduced even further the urgency of thinking about the African church.

When a faith mission started to work somewhere in Africa South of the Sahara, it usually took a few years before 'the first Africans were ready for baptism.' Even after that, little attention was paid to establishing church structures because the mission, with its centralized organization, already provided these structures. In the 1930s, faith missions started systematic discussions about what pattern the African church should follow. The answer was taken from the classical missions—not from their mainline thinking, but from a critical sideline, from Roland Allen and his 'indigenous church principle.' His strict separation (or how they understood it) between mission and church did not serve well the emergent African faith mission churches. Another reason for which faith missions invested little energy in developing the African churches is that they themselves were quite weak in conscious ecclesiology. They had, first of all, to find out if they even wanted to found 'proper' churches. Even if they agreed on that, they still had to decide what structures the church should have.

All this meant that the 'wave of independence' which, after 1950, swept the continent, caught the faith missions largely unawares. As a rule, they accepted the process to independence in state and church. Often this took place without serious problems, but sometimes serious frictions arose, as

¹²⁶ Here Brethren influences may be detected, because in their *theology* they admit no organizational unity beyond the local church.

with the AIM in Kenya, which nearly resulted in a separation between the AIM and the church it had founded.¹²⁷

On the whole, the process of independence did not differ in principle between faith mission churches and classical mission churches. Sometimes it was slower¹²⁸ and usually the leaders of the faith mission churches were less qualified in academic terms. In most African countries, the full integration of mission and church is the rule, not only in Kenya, Zaire and Nigeria—the main 'faith mission countries'—but also in countries such as Guinea Bissau or the Congo.

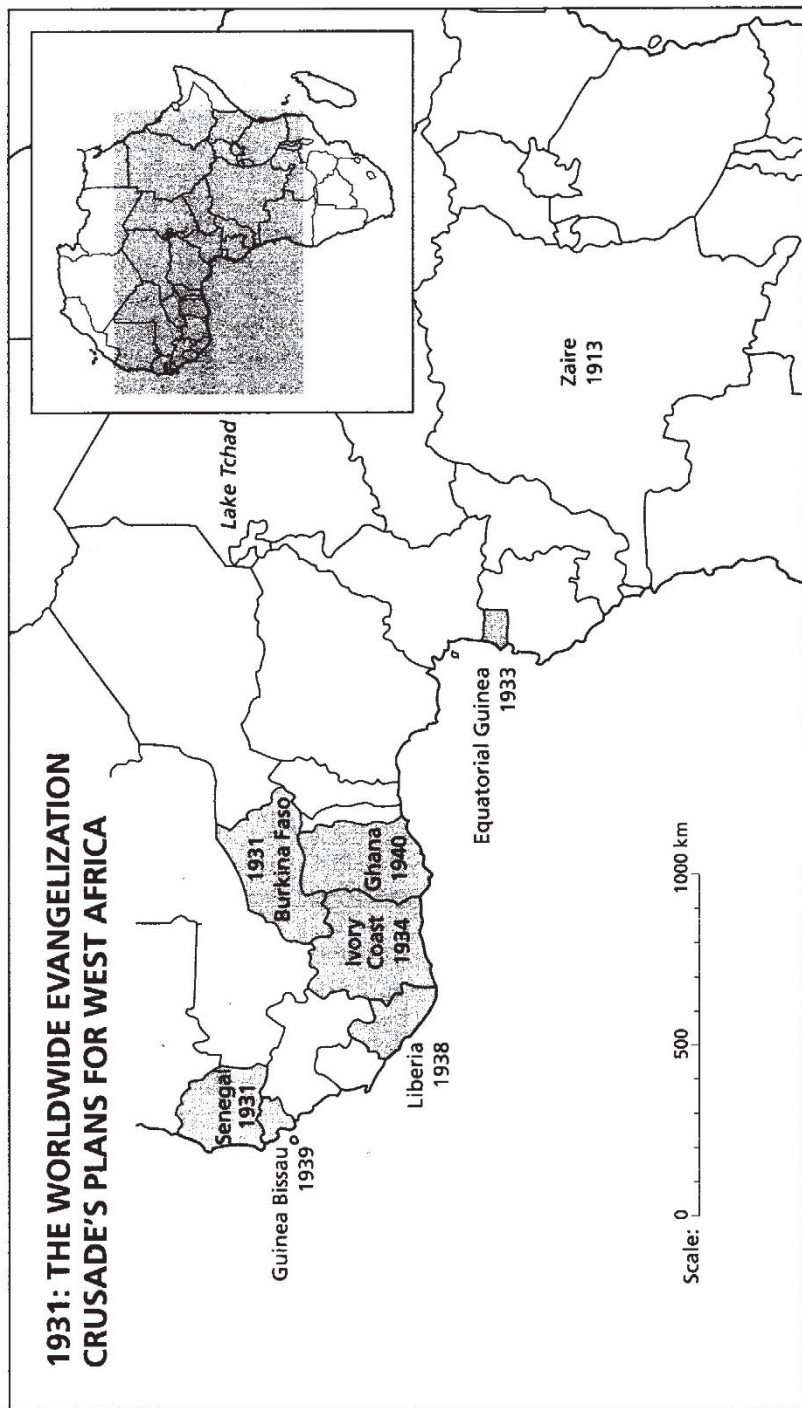
For African churches today, it is no longer the question how to get rid of the missionaries, but of how to get enough of them. Also, in theology, the issue of mission is no longer urgent for the African church as it was two decades ago. The most urgent issue for the church in Africa south of the Sahara in general (and for the great faith mission churches in particular) is how to cope with the tremendous numerical growth which they experienced since the 1960s and which they are still experiencing today. The number of Christians in the AIM sphere in Kenya counted a few thousands in the 1950s, now there are more than one million Kenyans who claim some kind of allegiance to the Africa Inland Church.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ John A. Gratton, *The Relationship of the Africa Inland Mission and its National Church in Kenya Between 1895 and 1971*, 306ff.

¹²⁸ Two reasons among others may be mentioned: the missions were younger and the number of career missionaries was usually higher.

¹²⁹ *WCE* gives an inclusive membership of 300,000 for 1970 and of 630,000 for 1978 (p. 437). Since then, AIC has grown quickly; statistics are no longer kept. On inquiry, estimates between 1 Million and 1,5 Million were given. *A current (2017) estimate is 2.4 Million (erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/handle/11295/19522). This is about 13% of Protestant Christianity in Kenya.

1931: THE WORLDWIDE EVANGELIZATION CRUSADE'S PLANS FOR WEST AFRICA



Churches with faith mission origins (c. 1975)³³⁹

Mission	Date Founded	Church	Type	Congregations	Full members	Total members
Algeria						
North Africa Mission	1888	Mission d'Afrique du Nord	Pint	5	200	300
Mission Rolland	1908	Mission Rolland	Pint	2	30	200
Emmanuel Mission Sahara Desert Mission	1953	Mission Évangélique au Sahara	Pint	1	20	50
Mission Biblique de Ghardaia	1956	Mission Biblique de Ghardaia	Pint	1	20	50
Angola						
[Bishop Taylor's Mission]	1885	[Igreja Metodista Unida de Angola]	[PMe t]	107	47,989	70,000
Mission Philafricaine	1897	Igreja Evangélica do Sudoeste de Angola	PBap	348	8,730	45,000
Angola Evangelical Mission	1887	Igreja Evangélica de Angola ³⁴⁰	PBap	?	1,000	2,000
Angola Evangelical Mission	1925	Igreja Evangélica do Norte de Angola	PBap	2	500	1,000

³³⁹ These figures are from the David Barret (ed), *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World A.D. 1900-2000*, New York; Oxford; Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1982.

³⁴⁰ From 1957 onwards, Canadian Baptist Overseas Mission Board (CBOMB).

Mission	Date Founded	Church	Type	Congregations	Full members	Total members
Africa Evangelical Fellowship	1914	Igreja do Sul de Angola	Pint	150	3,000	10,000
Benin						
Sudan Interior Mission	1946	Association des Églises Évangéliques du B.	Pint	59	782	3,335
Botswana						
Helgelseförbundet	c. 1960	Holiness Union Church of Botswana ³⁴¹	PHol		300	500
British Indian Ocean Territory						
World Wide Mission	1961	World Wide Mission of Cameroon	Pind		1,200	2,000
Central African Republic						
Mid Africa Mission	1920	Églises Baptistes de la RCA	PBap	375	60,000	150,000
Africa Inland Mission	1924	Église Évangélique Centrafricaine	Pint	100	1,000	5,000
Central Africa Pioneer Mission	1937	Mission Évangélique (Américaine)	Pint		3,000	5,000
Örebro Mission	1923	Union des Églises Baptistes	PPe2	29	26,595	5,000
Chad						
Mid Africa Mission	1925	Église Baptiste du Tchad	PBap	150	20,000	30,000

³⁴¹ Started by Zulu immigrants.

Mission	Date Founded	Church	Type	Congregations	Full members	Total members
		Église Dissidente du Tchad	lpen		500	1,000
Sudan United Mission ³⁴²	1926	Églises Évangéliques au Chad	Plnt	372	20,000	100,000
Comoros						
Africa Inland Mission	1975	[Église de Jésus-Christ aux Congo]	Plnt	1	20	40
Congo						
Svenska Missionsförbundet	1909	Église Évangélique du Congo	PCon	90	68,800	120,000
Örebro Mission	1921	Église Baptiste du Congo Populaire	PPe2	61	2,197	4,000
United World Mission	1946	Église Évangélique de la Likouala	Plnt	9	1,000	3,000
Djibouti						
Egypt						
Peniel Missionary Society	1895	Free Methodist Church	PHol	92	4,250	15,250
World Wide Mission	1960	Gospel Preaching Church	Plnd		2,600	4,000
Egypt General Mission ³⁴³						
Unevangelized Fields Mission	1964					

³⁴² Also TEAM, EMEK, WEC.

³⁴³ At first Egypt Mission Band; later, Middle East General Mission.

Mission	Date Founded	Church	Type	Congregations	Full members	Total members
World Gospel Mission	1949					
Equatorial Guinea						
Worldwide Evangelization Crusade	1933	[Iglesia Evangélica en la Guinea Equatorial]	PRef	30	1,300	4,000
		(Iglesia Evangélica Cruzada)				
Ethiopia						
Sudan Interior Mission	1927	Word of Life Evangelical Church	PBap	2,051	181,463	500,000
Read Sea Mission Team	1951					
World Wide Mission	1966					
Gabon						
Christian and Missionary Alliance	1934	Église Évangélique du Sud Gabon	PHol	188	6,854	15,000
Gambia						
Worldwide Evangelization Crusade	1966	Gambian Evangelical Fellowship	PInt	3	50	200
Ghana						
Worldwide Evangelization Crusade	1940	Worldwide Evangelization Crusade	PInt	56	850	2,600
Mid Africa Mission	1946	Baptist Mid Mission	PBap	15	188	238
Evangelical Missionary Society	1956	Fellowship of Good News Churches	PInt	2	100	300

Mission	Date Founded	Church	Type	Congregations	Full members	Total members
World Wide Mission		World Wide Missions of Ghana	Plnd		65,000	90,000
Guinea						
Christian and Missionary Alliance	1918	Église Évangélique Protestante ³⁴⁴	PHol	203	1,473	3,000
Guinea-Bissau						
Worldwide Evangelization Crusade	1939	Igreja Evangélica da Guiné	Plnt	24	1,252	2,500
Worldwide Evangelization Crusade	1934	Église Protestante du Centre	Plnt	51	685	5,000
World Wide Mission	1967					
Sudan Interior Mission	1968	[with ECWA]				
Kenya						
Africa Inland Mission	1895	Africa Inland Church ³⁴⁵	Plnt	1,700	150,000	300,000
	1945	African Brotherhood Church ³⁴⁶	lind	342	30,869	64,030
	1947	African Christian Churches and Schools	lBap	33	8,000	30,500
		1954 Voice of Salvation and Healing Church	lpnt	50	6,000	12,000

³⁴⁴ 1976: 2,300/12,700.

³⁴⁵ 1978: 630,000.

³⁴⁶ 1977: 78,622.

Mission	Date Founded	Church	Type	Congregations	Full members	Total members
		1961 African Church	IBap	19	15,000	30,000
Neukirchener Mission	1878	Africa Inland Church (see above)				
World Gospel Mission	1935	Africa Gospel Church	PHol	250	6,500	15,000
	1964	Africa Gospel Unity Church	IHol	19	1,000	1,500
Gospel Missionary Society	c. 1940	Bible Fellowship Church	PBap	1	210	500
Gospel Furthering Fellowship	1936	Gospel Furthering Bible Church	PBap		3,000	10,000
	c. 1943	Gospel Tabernacle Church	IBap	15	2,650	8,000
		1958 Good News Church of Africa	IBap	120	11,050	30,000
The Evangelical Alliance Mission						
World Wide Mission	1961					
Lesotho						
Liberia						
Worldwide Evangelization Crusade	1938	United Liberia Inland Church	Plnt	35	3,000	5,000
Sudan Interior Mission	1951	ELWA Chapels	Plnt	9	120	590
Sudan Interior Mission	1984	Montserrado Evangelical Fellowship	Plnt	1		

Mission	Date Founded	Church	Type	Congregations	Full members	Total members
		c. 1968 Evangelical Church of Christ	lind	20	400	800
Libya						
North Africa Mission	1889					
Madagascar						
Malawi						
Zambezi Industrial Mission	1892	Zambezi Evangelical Church	Pind	258	10,000	30,000
		1932 Congregation of the Lamb	lind	3	300	500
		c. 1953 African Church				
Nyassa Industrial Mission ³⁴⁷	1893	Evangelical Church of Malawi	Plnt	126	5,000	15,000
		1946 African Nyasa Mission				
Africa Evangelical Fellowship	1900	Africa Evangelical Church of Malawi	Plnt	63	2,000	5,000
Mali						
Gospel Missionary Union	1919	Église Évangélique Protestante au Mali	PHol	70	3,000	5,000
Christian and Missionary Alliance	1923	Église Chrétienne du Mali	PHol	277	7,477	14,074

³⁴⁷ Now, Africa Evangelical Fellowship.

Mission	Date Founded	Church	Type	Congregations	Full members	Total members
United World Mission	1953	Église Protestante de Kayes	PHol	8	350	1,000
Mauretania						
Mauritius						
Africa Evangelical Fellowship	1969	Mauritius Mission				
Indian Ocean Union Mission						
Mayotte						
Morocco						
North Africa Mission	1884		Plnt	6	70	150
Gospel Missionary Union	1894		PHol	5	30	50
Southern Morocco Mission						
Central Morocco Mission						
Emmanuel Mission						
Berean Mission	1966					
Morocco Evangelistic Mission ³⁴⁸						
Light of Africa Mission						
Mozambique						
Nyassa Industrial Mission						

³⁴⁸ Later Fellowship of Independent Missions.

Mission	Date Founded	Church	Type	Congregations	Full members	Total members
[CSM]/NIM/ZIM/AEF	1921	Igreja Evangélica Baptiste de Moçambique	Plnt	60	30,000	50,000
Namibia						
Niger						
Sudan Interior Mission	1923	Églises Évangéliques du Niger	Plnt	90	1,000	2,000
Nigeria						
Qua Iboe Mission	1887	Qua Iboe Church	Plnt	800	45,000	90,000
Sudan Interior Mission	1893	Evangelical Churches of West Africa	Pint	1,330	60,000	500,000
Sudan United Mission (GB)	1904	Church of Christ in Nigeria: Plateau and Bauchi	Pint	1,003	22,104	220,000
Sudan United Mission (CRC)	1906	Church of Christ in Nigeria: Benue	PRef	232	9,259	150,000
Sudan United Mission (RSA)	1911	Church of Christ in Nigeria: Mada Hills	Pint	310	6,135	40,000
Sudan United Mission (DRC/CRC)	1911	Church of Christ among the Tiv	PRef	1,368	17,436	500,000
Sudan United Mission (CBM)	1923	Church of Christ in Nigeria: Gabas	PDun	302	18,955	70,000
Sudan United Mission (EB/UM)	1923	Church of Christ in Nigeria: Muri	PMet	220	7,839	60,000

Mission	Date Founded	Church	Type	Congregations	Full members	Total members
Sudan United Mission (DK)	1913	Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria	PLut	879	18,484	700,000
	1940	United Church of Christ in Nigeria	Pint	10	341	6,000
Missionary Church	1901	United Missionary Church of Africa	PHol	191	7,000	15,000
World Wide Mission	1957	World Wide Missions of Nigeria	Pind		20,000	30,000
New Testament Missionary Union						
Réunion						
Africa Evangelical Fellowship	1970	Église Évangélique de la Réunion				
Rwanda						
Africa Inland Mission	1971	Église Évangélique Calvaire d'Afrique	lpe2	22	150	400
Sahara						
St. Helena						
São Tomé and Príncipe						
	1935	Igreja Evangélica	lint	3	1,000	2,000
Senegal						
Worldwide Evangelization Crusade	1935	Mission Évangélique	Pint	6	50	200

Mission	Date Founded	Church	Type	Congregations	Full members	Total members
United World Mission	1955	Mission Mondiale Unie	Pint	2	20	250
New Tribes Mission	1955					
World Wide Mission	1965					
Calvary Ministries (CAPRO)						
Seychelles						
Sierra Leone						
Christian and Missionary Alliance ³⁴⁹		Sierra Leone Missionary Church	PHol	35	320	1,350
World Wide Mission	1965					
Christians in Action						
Somalia						
Sudan Interior Mission	1954	Somalia Believers Fellowship	Pint	4	75	250
Spanish North Africa						
South Africa						
The Evangelical Alliance Mission	1889	Bantu Evangelical Church	Plnt	309	9,581	17,000
Hephzibah Faith Mission						
Africa Evangelical Fellowship		Indian Christian Fellowship	Plnt	22	727	1,590

³⁴⁹ 1945 Missionary Church.

Mission	Date Founded	Church	Type	Congregations	Full members	Total members
Helgelseförbundet	1890	Swedish Holiness Union Mission	PHol	245	6,022	19,089
East Africa Free Mission						
Svenska Alliansmissionen	1901	Swedish Alliance Mission			16,000	19,000
Mahon Mission						
Africa Evangelistic Mission						
Dorothea Mission						
Sudan						
Sudan United Mission (AUS/NZ)	1907	Sudanese Church of Christ	Pind	96	12,018	53,000
Africa Inland Mission	1936	African Inland Church	Plnt	5	250	1,000
Sudan Interior Mission	1937	Church in the East Central Sudan	Plnt	14	1,150	1,500
Swaziland						
Africa Evangelical Fellowship	1891	Africa Evangelical Church	Plnt	25	5,000	7,000
Svenska Alliansmissionen	1915	Alliance Church of Sweden	Pind	55	1,200	3,000
		1950 Bantu Swedish Free Church	lind	8	2,500	4,000
Tanzania						
Africa Inland Mission	1908	Africa Inland Church	Plnt	461	50,000	80,000

Mission	Date Founded	Church	Type	Congregations	Full members	Total members
	1960	African Brotherhood Church	lind	4	200	340
Neukirchener Mission						
Togo						
Tunisia						
North Africa Mission	1881	Mission d'Afrique du Nord	Plnt	2	50	100
Uganda						
Africa Inland Mission	1918	Church of Uganda, Madi and West Nile Diocese	ALow	420	12,500	30,000
World Wide Mission	1962	World Wide Mission of Uganda	Pind	150	300	
Zaire						
Christian and Missionary Alliance	1884	Communauté Évangélique de L'Alliance au Zaire	PHol	856	23,343	60,000
Svenska Missionsförbundet	1884	Communauté Évangélique du Zaire	PCon	192	30,064	75,000
Congo Balolo Mission =RBMU	1889	Communauté Association des Églises				
		Évangéliques de la Lulonga (CADELU)	Plnt	468	33,450	75,000
Congo Inland Mission	1912	Communauté Mennonite au Zaire	PMen	290	38,200	110,000

Mission	Date Founded	Church	Type	Congregations	Full members	Total members
	1960	Communauté Ev Mennonite du Sud-Kasai	PMen	40	3,200	9,000
Worldwide Evangelization Crusade	1913	Communauté Ev du Christ au Coeur d'Afrique	Plnt	550	52,201	110,000
Evangelization Society ESAM	1922	Communauté Libre de Maniema Kivu	PPen	85	10,065	20,000
Emmanuel Mission	1923	Communauté Assemblée des Frères au Zaïre	PCBr	94	6,840	12,000
Unevangelized Africa Mission	1928	Communauté des Églises Baptistes du Kivu	PBap			
	1959	Communauté Baptiste au Kivu	PBap	592	32,753	60,000
Unevangelized Fields Mission	1931	Communauté Episcopale Ev du Haut-Zaïre	Plnt	370	21,600	40,000
Mid Africa Mission	1949	Communauté Baptistes Autonome entre Wamba-Bakali	IBap	15	1,940	7,500
Livingstone Inland Mission	1878	Communauté Baptiste du Zaïre-Ouest	PBap	700	100,000	450,000
Unevangelized Tribes Mission	1961	Communauté Baptiste du Sud-Kwango	PBap	15	833	12,000
	1952	Communauté Évangélique du Kwango	Pind	206	6,700	20,000

Mission	Date Founded	Church	Type	Congregations	Full members	Total members
	1953	Communauté Union des Église Baptistes. du Kwilu	IBap	35	2,383	7,500
Cooperation Évangélique Mondiale	1965	Communauté Cooperation Évangélique au Zaïre	Ipen	10	2,663	8,000
Congo Gospel Mission BMM	1927	Communauté Évangélique Zairoise	PBap	72	4,537	12,000
	1932	Communauté des Églises Baptistes Indépendantes	PBap	226	10,592	25,000
Worldwide Grace Testimony	1939	Communauté des Églises de Grace au Zaïre	PInt	152	5,538	20,000
Afrika MV, Peniel Mission et al	1942	Communauté des Églises Frères Mennonites au Zaïre	PMen	140	10,180	16,000
Africa Inland Mission	1912	Communauté Évangélique au Centre de l'Afrique	PInt	1,140	63,047	300,000
Berean Mission	1938	Communauté Évangélique Beréenne au Zaïre	PInt	80	20,000	60,000
Zambia						
Africa Evangelical Fellowship	1910	Evangelical Church in Zambia	PInt	340	7,000	20,000

Mission	Date Founded	Church	Type	Congregations	Full members	Total members
Zimbabwe						
Svenska Alliansmissionen		Alliance Church in Zimbabwe	Pind	6	200	500
The Evangelical Alliance Mission	1942	Evangelical Church in Zimbabwe	Plnt	95	2,500	6,000

'Faith mission Christians' in Africa

Algeria	600
Angola	128,000
Benin	3,335
Botswana	500
British Indian Ocean Terr.	
Burkina Faso	11,063
Burundi	8,000
Cameroon	77,398
Cape Verde	
Central African Republic	165,000
Chad	131,000
Comoros	40
Congo	127,000
Djibouti	
Egypt	16,250
Equatorial Guinea	4,000
Ethiopia	500,000
Gabon	15,000
Gambia	200
Ghana	93,138
Guinea	3,000
Guinea-Bissau	2,500
Ivory Coast	40,583
Kenya	501,530
Lesotho	
Liberia	6,390
Libya	

Madagascar	
Malawi	78,258
Mali	20,074
Mauretania	
Mauritius	0
Mayotte	
Morocco	200
Mozambique	50,000
Namibia	
Niger	2000
Nigeria	2,361,000
Réunion	0
Rwanda	400
Sahara	
Sao Tomeé and Principe	200
Senegal	450
Seychelles	
Sierra Leone	1,350
Somalia	250
South Africa	56,679
Spanish North Africa	
St. Helena	
Sudan	55,500
Swaziland	14,000
Tanzania	80,340
Togo	
Tunisia	100
Uganda	30,300
Zaire	1,509,000

Zambia	20,000	Total:	6,126,348
Zimbabwe	6,500		

Summary:

2 Countries with more than one million

5 Countries with less than 100,000

14 Countries with less than 10,000

18 Countries with less than 1,000

Source: David Barrett (ed), *World Christian Encyclopedia. A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World AD 1900-2000*, Nairobi/Oxford/New York 1982.

Date: About 1975. *Since 1975 most churches have grown considerably.

*Some Examples:

*ECWA has grown from 500,000 to an estimated 5 Million, about half of them full members (*wiki)

*Africa Inland Church has grown from 300,000 to an estimated 2,400,00.

*For the Qua Iboe Church (90,000) I found a new estimate of 2 Million in 1000 congregations (wiki:QIC-United_Evangelical_Church), which I doubt. The QIM website (wiki) gives for the same church 1000 congregations of between 50-1000 members, which would yield a more realistic estimate of 300,000 to 400,000.

*The Zambezi Evangelical Church (30,000) is now estimated at 200,000 (net-ministries.org/churches/ch30097).

*Religious statistics are notoriously unreliable in many parts of Africa, but the overall impression is that the Faith Mission based churches have grown above the average growth rate of the population, which since 1975 has grown by 300%,³⁵⁰ and that growth has increased Africa's share in the

³⁵⁰ *Population statistics differ among themselves. I took the figures from worldpopulation review.com/continents/Africa-population/. This source counted

world's population from 5.95% to 17.81%. Applying the overall population growth rate to the overall membership of the Faith Mission based churches, one would expect that there are now in these churches 18,331,871 members

the population in 1975 as 416,490,405, and by now as 1,246,504,865. This means an increase since 1975 by 299.23%.

Chapter 4: Born in Revival: Faith Missions and the 1859/1873 Revival

Missions—Children of Revival

In German missiology, it is commonplace to see the classical missions as being the result of *the* Revival.³⁵¹ This is true not only in Germany and Switzerland, and not only for classical missions. As the classical missions go back to the Great Awakening which was prevalent at the turn at the eighteenth century, and as the pre-classical missions go back to the Pietistic/Puritan revival,³⁵² so the origin of the faith missions is in the Holiness Revival (Evangelical Revival, Second Great Awakening) of the second half of the nineteenth century.³⁵³

Faith mission theologians often see revivals as the most important thing in church history—at least as its driving force. Therefore, one can speak of a 'succession of revivals' which help to unfold the drama of church history.³⁵⁴ They pay little attention to the early church, but all of them see mysticism

³⁵¹ *In German missiology the Revival (die Erweckung) meant the Great Awakening, and other revivals were largely ignored, at least into the 1970s.

³⁵² *For the German speaking area, the founding of the "Christentumsgesellschaft" in Basel in 1815 is usually taken as the beginning of the Great Awakening (die Erweckung).

³⁵³ Described in: J. Edwin Orr, *The Eager Feet. Evangelical Awakenings 1790-1830*, Chicago, 1975.

³⁵⁴ *My typology of the Protestant Missions is based on Kenneth Scott Latourette's concept that "the Holy Spirit moves forward Church History by bringing in ever new revivals which create ever new organizations." And the missions, as such organizations, are all the children of revival, not of only one, but of a sequence of revivals. (Klaus Fiedler, *Missions as the Theology of the Church. An Argument from Malawi*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2015, esp. 12). For German speaking missiologists I wrote: "Mission als Theologie der Kirche und Missionen als Kinder der Erweckung", *Evangelikale Missiologie*, 27, 2/2011, 61-78.

as a kind of early revival,³⁵⁵ followed by the revival led by John Wycliffe and Jan Hus, followed by the Reformation. When the fervour of the Reformation had hardened into orthodoxy, God sent Pietism in Germany, the Nadere Reformatie in the Netherlands³⁵⁶ and Puritanism in England and America.³⁵⁷ After Pietism/Puritanism came the Great Awakening, the beginning of which is usually dated with the revival in Jonathan Edwards' Congregationalist church in Northampton, Massachusetts in 1735. Through his writings, Edwards strongly influenced William Carey and others.³⁵⁸ Usually, the revival of 1858/59 is seen as the one succeeding the Great Awakening, but there was another revival between the two,³⁵⁹ in the 1820s which,

³⁵⁵ One of the 'saints' of the faith missions was Madame Guyon, a Catholic all her life, though admittedly not always in conformity with the hierarchy. Her life story was printed in many editions, for example recently: Dorothy Gawne Coslet, *Madame Jeanne Guyon. Child of Another World*, Ft. Washington (Christian Literature Crusade) ²1985 (1984). For other names and details, see: Chapter 8, 'Power for service' on faith missions and the holiness movement.

³⁵⁶ *This was a "further reformation of church, state and society in word and deed" (Hoffie Hofmeyr). It was that "movement within the Dutch Reformed Church during the 17th and 18th centuries which, in the absence of a living faith, made both the personal experience of faith and godliness matters of central importance" (Doc Blad NR, 1995, 108). Important proponents were: Gisbertus Voetius (1589-1676), Johannes Hoornbeek (1617-1666), Anna Maria von Schurman, Essenius, Van Lodenstein, J. Tellinck. A major missiological book is: Johannes Hoornbeek, *De conversione indorum et gentilium*, 1669.

³⁵⁷ It is not incidental that the great revival preacher Spurgeon did much to republish Puritan theology. He is sometimes called 'the last of the Puritans.'

³⁵⁸ In 1747 Edwards published in Boston: *An Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union Among God's People in Extraordinary Prayer, for the Revival of Religion and the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth, Pursuant to Scripture-Promises and Prophecies Concerning the Last Time*. This was republished in Northampton in 1789 by John Sutcliffe, one of the pastors in the Baptist Northamptonshire Association, to which Carey belonged. It is the only book to which Carey in his *Enquiry* explicitly refers (p. 12).

³⁵⁹ *I call this the Restorationist Revival, which I discovered after writing this book. See: Klaus Fiedler, "A Revival Disregarded and Disliked" in Klaus W. Müller (ed), *Mission in fremden Kulturen*, Nürnberg: Verlag für Theologie und Religions-

although less impressive and less widespread, produced three movements which would strongly influence the revival of 1858-59 and with it the faith missions: the Holiness Movement, the Brethren Movement and the Prophetic Movement. In faith mission circles, the succession of revivals is usually seen to have stopped with the 1858-59 revival and its second wave in 1873. Sometimes the 1904 Welsh Revival is still taken into account, but the next revival, that of Pentecostalism (1900/06), tends to be seen more as a deviation.³⁶⁰

Each revival is characterized by a new theological emphasis (or even by several new ones), and it always spreads across national and denominational borders. Every revival gives new opportunities to groups within the church which normally do not have much influence: the laity, women, less-educated people, minorities.³⁶¹ The renewed spiritual fervour tends to manifest itself in new activities, which lead to the establishment of new organizations. The revival's new theological emphasis is usually accepted only by a part of the church. This often produces splits: during the Reformation, political influences arranged the split geographically; otherwise, the splits crisscross the church(es). Sometimes these splits manifest themselves in theological variations, sometimes in the emergence of revival fellowship

wissenschaft, 2003; also Klaus Fiedler, "'A Revival Disregarded and Disliked' or What do Seventh-day Adventists, Churches of Christ, Jehovah's Witnesses and the New Apostolic Church have in Common? *Religion in Malawi*, no 15, 2009, 10-19. Reprinted in Klaus Fiedler, *Conflicted Power in Malawian Christianity: Essays Missionary and Evangelical from Malawi*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2015, 300-321. The Restorationist Revival aimed at restoring the primitive church once more before the end. The major denominational families that developed from it are: Churches of Christ, Christian Brethren, Apostolic Churches and the Adventists.

³⁶⁰ Revival theologians tend to see the revival to which they belong as the final one.

*The attitude of rejection of Pentecostalism has started to break down by now.

³⁶¹ *For more on this see: Klaus Fiedler, *Missions as the Theology of the Church. An Argument from Malawi*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2015, 12-15. A characteristic of revivals not mentioned there is that they are innovative.

movements within or at the edge of the existing churches, and sometimes by the birth of new denominations or independent congregations.³⁶²

This means that each revival decreases the uniformity of the church and, inevitably, increases its pluralism, as new spiritual truths and experiences express themselves in new initiatives and organizations. Prominent among these initiatives and organizations are evangelistic efforts, social activities and foreign missions.

The revival leaders usually (and mistakenly) claim to teach nothing new, but only to revive what always was the teaching of the church. Therefore, they do not expect a new revival (necessarily with new theological emphasis) to come after their own, and when it does come, they themselves or their successors are not usually happy about it. This was the case when the Pietists challenged the heirs of the Reformation and when, in 1858-59, a new revival spread across Protestantism³⁶³ close on the heels of the Great Awakening, most leaders of the classical missions, themselves born in revival, could only see the new movement as a danger or a nuisance. The leaders of the faith missions claimed their right to transform new experiences and old truths into new organizations, but when the Pentecostal Revival broke, less than two generations later they, in turn, could only see these newcomers as a nuisance or as teachers of wrong doctrine.

Revivals start at a point in church history and fade after a time, but they do not disappear. Their teachings, their institutions and the fellowships they have created continue to exist, even after the revival fervour has waned. This means that one should not speak so much of a succession of revivals, as of a plurality of revivals: all revivals from the Reformation onwards are still with us, and every new revival increases the plurality of the church, so that unity must be sought beyond uniformity. It is to be expected that the next revival will also produce new organizations and will be greeted with

³⁶² *For a study of such a revival see: Bright Kawamba, *The Blantyre Spiritual Awakening 1969 to 1986: an Antecedent of the Charismatic Movement in Malawi*, MA, University of Malawi, 2013, published as *The Blantyre Spiritual Awakening and its Music*, Mzuzu: Luviri Press, 2018.

³⁶³ Edwin Orr, *The Fervent Prayer. Evangelical Awakening 1858-1899*, Chicago: 1974.

mixed enthusiasm by the leaders of the preceding revival(s), and that it may, like the revivals which preceded it, add to the effectiveness of the missionary outreach of the church universal.³⁶⁴

The Revival of the Second Half of the 19th Century

Faith missions were new in their times but are so no longer. They belong to the 1859/73 revival, and the fact that they are still going strong shows that that revival may have lost its original cutting edge, but not its spiritual life. To understand the faith missions, it is useful to know the revival which produced them.

The revival first broke in the United States: there appeared extraordinary spiritual stirrings, such as a great urge for prayer and heavily attended evangelistic meetings, towards the end of 1857 at the east coast of the United States and, a little later, in Canada. In 1858, the revival was in full bloom. It was comparatively quiet, strongly emphasizing communal prayer. It was a lay movement, in which 'the laymen of all denominations gladly undertook ordinary and extraordinary responsibilities.'³⁶⁵ The revival spread southwards, transformed Kentucky and Tennessee, was effective during the Civil War on both sides and affected whites and blacks equally. The churches gained more than a million new members.

In Europe, the revival broke first and strongest in Presbyterian Ulster. There, and equally in Scotland and Wales, about ten percent of the population professed conversion; in the whole of Great Britain, another million

³⁶⁴ *Different from widespread opinion I believe that (organizational) unity does not promote missions, but that diversity does. John Mott expressed the opposite opinion forcefully at and after the Edinburgh 1910 World Mission Conference, claiming that the remaining task of world mission can only be accomplished in unity. He added no historical evidence.—*For my view of the Edinburgh 1910 conference and the (limited) Evangelical role in it, see: Klaus Fiedler, "Edinburgh 1910 and the Evangelicals", *Evangelical Theological Review*, 34/4 (Oct 2010), 53-71; Klaus Fiedler, "The World Missionary Conference 'Edinburgh 1910' as Seen from Malawi", *Religion and Culture*, no. 1, 2013, 23-33.

³⁶⁵ Edwin Orr, *The Flaming Tongue. Evangelical Awakenings, 1900*, Chicago ²1975, xv.

members were added to the churches. Spurgeon built his famous Metropolitan Tabernacle in London on the crest of this revival.³⁶⁶ The revival remained largely within the existing denominations. The British Free Churches fully supported it, but in the Anglican Church there was opposition as well as support. It revitalized many Christian service agencies, and most early recruits to the CIM had been awakened in this revival.

Though the faith missions arose after this first (1858-59) wave of the revival, the second wave was far more important for them. This second wave is irreversibly bound to the name of Dwight Lyman Moody, who rose to worldwide fame not in his home country, but in Britain.³⁶⁷ When he arrived there in 1873, he had trouble in finding a place where to preach. When, more than two and a half years later, he finished his tour with a twenty-week campaign in London, about two and a half million people aggregate had heard him.³⁶⁸ After his return to the United States, he worked there with equal success.

This revival spread to Germany in 1874 through the mediation of Robert Pearsall Smith. In Russia, two British gentlemen, Lord Radstock and Bae-decker, were the evangelists, and I.S. Prokhanov, converted in 1886, became the founder of the All-Russian Evangelical Union, later to be united with the Baptists. In 1882, Moody preached at Cambridge University. One result of that effort was the famous Cambridge Seven who, under the leadership of C.T. Studd, joined the CIM.³⁶⁹ In Sweden, the revival brought new life to the Fosterlandsstiftelsen (a fellowship movement of the Great Awakening) and, as an offshoot/split, the Svenska Missionsförbundet.

³⁶⁶ *For his life see: C.H. Spurgeon Autobiography, compiled from his Diary, Letters and Records by his wife [Susannah] and his private secretary [Joseph Harrald], 4 vols, London, 1897-1910. A Revised edition, 2 vols, London 1962 and 1973.

³⁶⁷ Two evangelists of the same second wave, important for the emerging CMA, were Major Whittle and Bliss.

³⁶⁸ Edwin Orr, *The Flaming Tongue*, xvii.

³⁶⁹ John Pollock, *The Cambridge Seven*, Basingstoke, ²1985 (1955).

A third and final wave of this revival can be counted from 1902, the leader of which was Reuben Archer Torrey,³⁷⁰ whom Moody had made director of the Bible Institute in Chicago in 1889. His greatest impact was in Australia. Another crest of this third wave was the famous Welsh Revival of 1904,³⁷¹ which already showed traits of the 1906 Pentecostal revival.

Every revival has its special theological emphasis. The 1859/1873 revival drew them from three movements which had their roots in a smaller 'intermediate revival' in Britain in the 1820s.³⁷² That revival was not so widespread, but developed various distinctly new theologies, all of which seem to have had one thing in common: before the end of the age they wanted once more to return to pristine ("primitive") Christianity.³⁷³ Edward Irving developed the idea of the revived Charismatic gifts before Christ's return.³⁷⁴ This pre-Pentecostal teaching eventually led to the formation of the Catholic Apostolic Church (1832), which later gave birth to the New Apostolic Church (1863).³⁷⁵

³⁷⁰ Martin Roger, *R.A. Torrey. Apostle of Certainty*, Murfreesboro, 1976. He was one of the editors of the 'Fundamentals': Reuben Archer Torrey; Amie C. Dixon et al., *The Fundamentals. A Testimony to the Truth*, Los Angeles (BIOLA), 1917, reprint Grand Rapids: Baker, 1972.

³⁷¹ Edwin Orr, *The Flaming Tongue*, 1-28.

³⁷² In the United States, this revival was stronger; its exponent was Charles Grandison Finney. He was still from the old revival stock, but by his joining the holiness movement he became the link to the next great revival.

³⁷³ *For the fully developed theory of the Restorationist Revival see: Klaus Fiedler, "A Revival Disregarded and Disliked" in Klaus W. Müller (ed), *Mission in fremden Kulturen*, Nürnberg: Verlag für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft, 2003. Reprinted in Klaus Fiedler, *Conflicted Power in Malawian Christianity: Essays Missionary and Evangelical from Malawi*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2015, 300-321.

³⁷⁴ Gordon Strachan, *The Pentecostal Theology of Edward Irving*, Peabody: Hendrickson, 1973.

³⁷⁵ See: Jean Christie Root, *Edward Irving. Man, Preacher, Prophet*, Boston, 1912.

Eventually, 'Irvingianism' was excluded from the main stream revival, but not so the prophetic movement, which arose in the same context³⁷⁶ and changed eschatology from being post-millennial to pre-millennial.³⁷⁷ All the early faith mission leaders underwent that same theological change.

Another movement that arose in this revival was the Adventist movement, which predicted Christ's return in 1844. After that event did not take place as expected (the Great Disappointment), some formed the Seventh-day Adventist Church, which, like the successors of the Irvingites, had little fellowship with other Christian groups (it is now moving much closer to them³⁷⁸), but developed a strong missionary theology.³⁷⁹ *The Seventh-day Adventists are very strong in Malawi, having become the third largest denomination there, claiming 2.6% of the members of the worldwide SDA Church (with its over 19 Million members).³⁸⁰

³⁷⁶ *The earliest roots of the premillennial Prophetic Movement were among the Brethren and in the Apostolic Movement (Irving). The Prophetic Movement gained little influence among the (earlier) Churches of Christ and much among the (later) Seventh-day Adventist Church.

³⁷⁷ For a detailed discussion of this movement and its influence on the faith missions see: chapter 9, 'A Propelling Vision.'

³⁷⁸ There is regular Christian fellowship between Seventh-day Adventists and other evangelical Christians in many places, but differences are still strong enough for SDA members not to join interdenominational faith missions. However, the Seventh Day Adventists are a strong missionary force of their own.

³⁷⁹ * Stefan Höschele, *From the End of the World to the Ends of the Earth: The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missiology*, Blantyre: CLAIM-Kachere, 2004.

³⁸⁰ *Dissertations on SDA history done in Malawi are: **Stefan Höschele**, "Christian Remnant - African Folk Church: The History of Seventh-Day Adventism in Tanzania, 1903-1980", PhD, University of Malawi, 2005, published as: Stefan Höschele, *Christian Remnant – African Folk Church: Seventh-day Adventism in Tanzania, 1903-1980*, Leiden: Brill, 2007; **Macleard Banda**, "The Remnant and its Mission" An Investigation into the Interaction of the Seventh-day Adventist Church with Society in Malawi, PhD, Mzuzu University, 2014, **Frank Chirwa**, A Critical Examination of the Changing Role of Women in the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Malawi: A Historical, Theological and Socio-Cultural Analysis, PhD, Mzuzu University, 2014; **Yonah Matemba**, The History of Matandani Mission of Seventh-day Adventists,

Closely connected with the Prophetic Movement (and, to some extent, even with Irving) was the Brethren movement, whose early major exponents were: John Nelson Darby, for the 'exclusive' variety;³⁸¹ and Anthony Norris Groves³⁸² and George Müller³⁸³ for the 'open' variety.³⁸⁴ The Brethren tried to achieve Christian unity in spite of and beyond the denominations, a revolutionary concept considered by many as destructive.³⁸⁵

Another movement, which, like the Brethren, started as a non-church movement and, like them, became a *de facto* denomination, are the

Neno, Malawi, 1908-1989, 2000, published as: Yonah Matemba, *Matandani: The Second Adventist Mission In Malawi*, Zomba: Kachere, 2003; **Macleard Banda**, *Mission by All to All: A Study of the History of Seventh-day Adventist Church Lunjika Mission 1932-1995*, MA, University of Malawi, 2006; **Towera Mwase**, *The Marriage Instructions for Girls and Women in Mzuzu Churches*, MA, Mzuzu University, 2012.

³⁸¹ W.G. Turner, *John Nelson Darby*, London, ³1944 (1901); H.E. Sturgeon, *The Life of J.N. Darby*, ThD, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1957; J. H. Goddard, "A Synthesis of the Bibliology, Theology, Angelology and Anthropology of J.N. Darby", diss, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1947.

³⁸² H. Groves, *Memoir of the Late Anthony Norris Groves, Containing Extracts from His Letters and Journals*, compiled by his widow, London 1856; *Memoir of Anthony Norris Groves* (1869).

³⁸³ George Müller, *A Narrative of Some of the Lord's Dealings with George Müller Written by Himself*, London ⁹1895 (¹1837); George Müller, *Autobiography*, Bristol/London, 1905; Arthur Tappan Pierson, *George Müller of Bristol*, London, ⁶1901 (1899).

³⁸⁴ Roy F. Coad, *Brethren Movement*, Exeter, 1968.

³⁸⁵ *The Open Brethren interpreted this concept of unity as the base for cooperation with many other Christians (individual unity without joining), while the Exclusive Brethren took this concept as defining the limits of fellowship, and defining these limits ever more narrowly. The Open Brethren (mostly called Christian Brethren) have grown in numbers (and made a contribution to other movements), while the Exclusive Brethren have lost both the missionary power and the numbers. – A contribution to the decline of Exclusive Brethren was made in Germany, starting in the late 1930s, when the majority of the Exclusive Brethren in Germany joined the minority Open Brethren, and Wiedenest Bible School with its mission emphasis became the centre for almost the whole Brethren Movement in Germany.

Churches of Christ/Christian Churches, which understood their fiercely congregational ecclesiology as a return to the tenets of the primitive church.³⁸⁶

The third movement, and possibly the most important movement for the 1859/1873 revival, was the Holiness Movement. It originated in the United States in 1835, taking up the Wesleyan teaching on sanctification as a second crisis experience in the Christian life, distinct from and after conversion.³⁸⁷ The Holiness Movement influenced the 1859 wave in Britain, but it really came into its own only during the second wave, when it was institutionalized in the Keswick Conventions (1875) and in many similar conventions all over the world.³⁸⁸

The 1859/1873 revival was more than the sum total of these three movements, but much of the power of this revival was due to them and they greatly shaped the course of faith mission history.

The Spirit of Revival

The revival largely to remain within the existing denominations. Nevertheless, its theology was often quite revolutionary because of its shifts in emphasis: the church was never felt to be without importance, but all emphasis was placed on evangelism. The same with baptism: it was never abolished, but what really counted was conversion, and it did not matter much whether baptism preceded or followed it. Traditional Christian doctrine was taken for granted, but emphasis was placed on practical Christianity. This led to many efforts to alleviate the suffering of the underprivileged, whether by charity or social reform.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁶ *For a thorough study of the Churches of Christ theology see the first chapters of Mark Thiesen, *The History of the Churches of Christ in Malawi*, PhD, Mzuzu University, forthcoming [2018].

³⁸⁷ For a detailed discussion, see chapter 7.

³⁸⁸ *The Malawian Keswick in Blantyre became a strong influence in the Blantyre Revival in the 1970s (Bright Kawamba, *The Blantyre Spiritual Awakening and its Music*, Mzuzu: Luviri Press, 2018).

³⁸⁹ These efforts later gave birth to the Social Gospel, whose later advocates cut it loose from the revival's emphasis on conversion and personal holiness.

For faith missions, the revival's most significant emphasis was on reaching the unreached for Christ. To achieve this, borders had to be crossed: class borders; denominational borders; the borders of crime and addiction; and national and geographical borders.³⁹⁰ The gospel was for all people and they were all to be presented with the gospel in a way they could understand.

The Pentecostal Revival

The Holiness Revival leaders were waiting and praying eagerly for a new revival, but they expected it to be one just like their own. They did register some slackening of Christian fervour around the turn to the 20th century, but when the new revival broke, most of them were perturbed by its unexpected features such as speaking in tongues and other spiritual gifts mentioned in the New Testament.

Just as they had done, the new revivalists were out to discover the original power of the gospel message and, in this, they even shared some terminology. Moody and other revival leaders had taught the holiness experience under the term 'Pentecostal blessing.' The fact that the exponents of the new revival interpreted 'Pentecost' in a very different way soon led to a parting of ways, sometimes in a friendly manner, often less so.

The origins of the Pentecostal revival are often traced to Topeka, Kansas, where Agnes Ozman was the first to experience the gift of tongues, influenced by her teacher Charles Fox Parham, whose Bible Institute she attended.³⁹¹ But, in those days, the Pentecostal experience remained an isolated thing, and Parham never really integrated himself into the Pentecostal movement that spread from Azusa Street in Los Angeles in 1906 under the leadership of William Seymour.

³⁹⁰ *For the distinction blurring characteristics of revivals see: Klaus Fiedler, *Missions as the Theology of the Church. An Argument from Malawi*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2015, 12-15.

³⁹¹ Her reminiscences are: Agnes O. LaBerge, *What God Hath Wrought* (np, nd). When she heard in 1906 about Pentecostalism, she identified with it. She died in 1937 as an Assemblies of God evangelist.

The Azusa Street Pentecostal revival movement knew no colour bar, but it was nevertheless a revival movement with its roots in black American religiosity and under black leadership.³⁹² So there is some reason to call it an African Christian revival, which started in the United States and soon made its influence felt worldwide.

The Pentecostal movement was missionary-minded from the very start. Charles Parham's Bible course in Topeka was intended to prepare programmespective missionaries, and he was convinced that the gift of tongues meant *xenolalia*, the speaking of real foreign languages, which gift would enable missionaries to preach immediately and effectively in every foreign country. In spite of these convictions, the Topeka revival produced no foreign missionaries. But the Azusa revival did: the first of them, Lillian and Alfred G. Garr of the Burning Bush Mission in Los Angeles, sailed for India and Hong Kong in June 1906. Soon, many others followed and, as is typical of revival times, women were prominent among them³⁹³ and there was, as yet, no racial distinction.

The expectation of many of the early Pentecostal missionaries that they would preach through *xenolalia* was soon to be disappointed, and a number of them did not complete even a year on the mission field. Another aspect that brought many disappointments was the 'faith principle' of support. This principle they shared with the faith missions, but they did not share their pattern of organization. Thus, applying the typology used in this book, the early Pentecostal missionaries were not faith missionaries, but independent missionaries. Up to 1920, the turnover (and failure) rate of Pentecostal missionaries was high.

First attempts to reach a consolidation of this budding missionary fervour took their cue from the interdenominational faith missions. The leading early promoter of a Pentecostal faith mission was Cecil Polhill, one of the famous Cambridge Seven, who had served with the China Inland Mission

³⁹² Here I follow the argument of: Allan Anderson, *Bazalwane. African Pentecostals in South Africa*, Pretoria, 1992, 17-32.

³⁹³ For example: Louise Condit, Lucy M. Leatherman and Lizzie Frazer (Gary B. McGee, "Missions, Overseas (North American)" in *DPCM*, 610-625 [611]).

from 1885 until 1900. He received Pentecostal baptism in 1908 in Los Angeles and soon organized the Pentecostal Missionary Union for Great Britain and Ireland.³⁹⁴ A similar interdenominational attempt was the short-lived Pentecostal Missionary Union (Levi Lupton, United States, 1909-10). The first major American mission of this type was the Pentecostal Mission in South and Central Africa (1919), founded by a single congregation, the Bethel Pentecostal Assembly, Newark, New Jersey, and directed by Minnie T. Draper.³⁹⁵ Another mission, which clearly patterned itself after faith missions, although preaching a distinctively Pentecostal message, was F.P. Burton's Congo Evangelistic Mission.³⁹⁶

On the whole, however, the Pentecostal missionary movement did not develop along interdenominational faith mission lines; instead, the *denominational Pentecostal mission* became the normal pattern. The first major mission of this type was the missionary work of the General Council of the Assemblies of God, organized in 1914 at Hot Springs, Arkansas.³⁹⁷ In the beginning, the missionary work of the Assemblies of God was more of a collection of independent missionaries than a denominational mission but, over the years, clear denominational structures evolved, making it the largest Pentecostal mission in the United States.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁴ Peter D. Hocken, "Polhill, Cecil H." in *DPCM*, 718.

³⁹⁵ When she died in 1921, her successor, as usual, was a man: Christian J. Lukas (*DPCM*, 614).

³⁹⁶ Harold Womersley, *William F.P. Burton, Congo Pioneer*, Eastbourne, 1973. Burton's spiritual kinship can be guessed from his book: *When God Makes a Missionary. The Life Story of Edgar Mahon*, London, 1936. For the history, see: David John Garrad, *The Congo Evangelistic Mission/Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaïre*, PhD, Aberdeen, 1983.

³⁹⁷ The development of the home side of the missionary work of the Assemblies of God is well presented in: Gary B. McGee, *This Gospel Shall Be Preached*, Springfield, 1986.

³⁹⁸ It counts 1,530 US career missionaries abroad, which is more than the combined total of all other US Pentecostal missions (W. Dayton Roberts and John A. Siewert [eds], *Mission Handbook. USA/Canada Protestant Ministries Overseas*, Monrovia/Grand Rapids, ¹⁴1989).

In spite of the Pentecostal missions' development along denominational lines, they kept close to their faith mission background in some ways. One aspect was a generally lower level of support. Like the early faith missions, they gave considerable room to independent women, and, like many faith missions, they reduced this room for independent women gradually but effectively over the years. But the most important remaining heritage goes back to A.B. Simpson, as the whole Pentecostal system of training for the ministry, abroad and at home, was patterned along the lines of Simpson's New York Missionary Training Collage³⁹⁹ which, in turn, had been directly patterned on Fanny and Grattan Guinness' East London Training Institute.

In missiology, the Pentecostal movement also shared many of the concerns of the faith missions. If faith missions were strong on eschatology, the Pentecostal missionaries were even stronger.⁴⁰⁰ Both stressed the need to reach the unreached, but since the Pentecostal missionaries also had an additional message ('full gospel'), they were often willing to work in areas already reached to some extent by other Protestant missions—something which the faith missions rarely did.

Though Pentecostal missions soon developed an identity of their own, it is interesting that in one aspect both Pentecostal missions and faith missions went the same way—in their veneration of the High Anglican missiologist Roland Allen. Introduced by Alice E. Luce to the ideas of Allen, the Assemblies of God officially adopted them in 1921.⁴⁰¹ Many of the early Assemblies of God pioneers, especially in South America, used 'indigenous church principles,' supported by Noel Perkins as the director of the mission. These principles were given Pentecostal literary form by Melvin L. Hodges, one of the foremost leaders in Pentecostal missiological writings.⁴⁰²

³⁹⁹ L.F. Wilson, "Bibel Institutes, Colleges, Universities" in *DPCM*, 57-65.

⁴⁰⁰ See: L. Grand McClung, "Missiology" in *DPCM*, 607-609.

⁴⁰¹ *DPCM*, 621.

⁴⁰² Melvin L. Hodges, *The Indigenous Church*, Springfield, 1953. As a book for 'national ministers and Bible School students in foreign lands' he published: *Build My Church*, Springfield, 1957.

Worldwide Pentecostal missions and faith missions are quite separate entities but, over the past decades, contacts in various parts of the world have been growing. One common aspect was the rejection of Fundamentalism by both the faith missions and the Pentecostals in the 1940s, while in the 1920s and 1930s many Pentecostals in the USA saw themselves as fundamentalists 'with a difference'.⁴⁰³ The break had to come because fundamentalists, with their strong belief in Biblical miracles (only), could not go along with the Pentecostals who believed that God was doing miracles even today.⁴⁰⁴ Faith missions broke with fundamentalism about the priority of evangelism over 'right doctrine' and the concept of 'second grade separation' that was tied to it.

The common, though unrelated, break with fundamentalism by both the evangelicals (and faith missions with them) and the Pentecostal opened the way for a closer cooperation between Evangelicals and Pentecostals. This found expression in the foundation of the National Association of Evangelicals, which included Pentecostals but not Fundamentalists, with Pentecostals eventually even being in the majority.⁴⁰⁵ There was never a major association of Pentecostal missions, but when the National Association of Evangelicals formed its missionary arm (Evangelical Foreign Missions Association, EFMA) in 1945, the major Pentecostal missions joined. This brought organizational contact with faith missions in two ways: those interdenominational faith missions which, mainly due to their holiness emphasis (like WEC), were not welcome in IFMA (Interdenominational Foreign Missions Association, founded in 1917), also joined EFMA, and a few other faith missions hold double membership. The second and major point of contact between faith missions and Pentecostal missions is

⁴⁰³ H. Vinson Synan, "Fundamentalism" in *DPCM*, 324-327 (p. 325). One major common tie was the use of the Scofield Bible.

⁴⁰⁴ Fundamentalism is strongly super-rationalistic for the (Biblical) past; it is very rationalistic for the present. In spite of popular press usage, Pentecostals cannot be classified as fundamentalists.

⁴⁰⁵ For the process of 'evangelicalization' of Pentecostals, see: Cecil M. Roveck, "National Association of Evangelicals" in *DPCM*, 634-636 (p. 635). *I observed a similar evangelicalization process among the Seventh-day Adventists.

the close ongoing cooperation between EFMA and IFMA and within the worldwide Evangelical movement, as represented by the congresses on evangelism at Lausanne (1974), Manila (1989) *and Cape Town (2010),⁴⁰⁶ where the Charismatic influences were even stronger than in Manila.

The Charismatic Revival

In spite of mutual acceptance and some cooperation, Pentecostal theology and piety had little or no room in the faith missions.⁴⁰⁷ This only changed with the coming of the Charismatic Movement, whose origins are usually dated in the 1960s, although its roots go back at least a dozen years further.⁴⁰⁸ The Charismatic Movement had the 'full gospel' message in common with the Pentecostal movement but, in contrast to the Pentecostal movement, it originated deeply within the classical mainline churches (including the Roman Catholics) and, to a large extent, has remained within them to date. As in the time of the Holiness Revival, the experience of the 'second blessing', or of the 'fullness', often made people feel the call to foreign mission work. Because faith missions never stopped accepting missionary candidates from mainline churches, quite a number of 'charismatic' missionaries joined a faith mission, with great variations as to area and mission. This means that the 'Pentecostal question' is once again before the faith missions. A few faith missions clearly dissociated themselves from the Charismatic Movement (such as the New Tribes Mission and the Unevangelized Fields Mission, both based in the United States). Some missions, WEC for example, consciously attempted 'to straddle the Charismatic divide.'⁴⁰⁹ Most faith missions tried, in some pragmatic way, to come to terms with the influences of the Charismatic Movement.

⁴⁰⁶ *www.lausanne.org/all-gatherings.

⁴⁰⁷ *An example of such cooperation is Cecil Polhill, who, after his Pentecostal experience in 1908, remained both an Anglican and a member of the China Inland Mission home council in Britain.

⁴⁰⁸ For a detailed description, see: Peter D. Hocken, "Charismatic Movement" in *DPCM*, 130-160.

⁴⁰⁹ Int Alastair M. Kennedy, 10.1.1987.

Although the Charismatic Renewal largely remained within the various denominations, it did bring about some new denominations and independent churches.⁴¹⁰ The best known of these movements is the British 'House Church Movement' with its strong Brethren influences,⁴¹¹ which considers itself to be a 'network of non-denominational Charismatic assemblies.' For this movement, there was the possibility of sending its missionaries into existing faith missions, and a number of missionaries actually joined WEC. There is a greater possibility that separate 'house church' missions will emerge.⁴¹²

Together with the emergence of independent Charismatic congregations and denominations, a Charismatic missionary movement has gradually begun to form, the shape of which is not yet fully clear. There seems to be a growing tendency in some of the larger independent Charismatic congregations for local congregation to act as the sending mission agency as well.

*There is also the tendency of sending African Charismatic missionaries to Europe and America, not as exchange workers as has been the practice in the classical mission-based churches, but to evangelize and to start

⁴¹⁰ *This expectation has now become a strong reality. There are now many Charismatic denominations all over Africa south of the Sahara. For a thesis from Zaire see: **Kibutu Ngimbi**, *Les Nouvelles Églises Indépendantes Africaines (NAIC). Un phénomène ecclésial observé au Congo/Kinshasa et auprès de ses extensions en Europe occidentale*, PhD, ETF Leuven, 2000; For a study from West Africa see: **Bosco Bangura**, *The Charismatic Movement in Sierra Leone (1980-2010): A Missio-historical Analysis in View of African Culture, Prosperity Gospel and Power Theology*, PhD, ETF Leuven, 2013; Dissertations dealing with the churches of the Charismatic Revival in Malawi are: **Rhodian Munyenyebe**, *Inculturation in Malawi. A Study of the Charismatic Movement*, MA, University of Malawi, 2005; **Felix Nyika**, *Apostolic Office in Malawian Neocharismatic Churches: A Contextual, Biblical-Theological, and Historical Appraisal*, 2015; **Richard Gadama**, *Women in the Charismatic Churches in Malawi: A Historical and Theological Perspective*, PhD, Free State University, 2016; **Khetwayo Banda**, *Word Alive Ministries International (WAMI) and its Wholistic Mission*, MA, Mzuzu University, 2012.

⁴¹¹ A penetrative study is: Andrew Walker, *Restoring the Kingdom. The Radical Christianity of the House Church Movement*, London, ²1989 (1985).

⁴¹² Dietrich Kuhl—Fiedler, 15.5.1988.

churches. They are quite successful among the African diaspora, but their impact on the native Europeans, though it is there, has been limited so far.

Faith Missions and Further Revivals

Faith missions were, and still are, clearly related to one definite revival. But although that revival has passed, neither the organizations it created nor the missions it gave birth to have vanished. The majority of faith missions have survived, and most of them have been able to accommodate to changes in the spiritual climate. New revivals have taken place, often bypassing existing faith missions. This means that faith missions are no longer the only alternative to the classical missions, but that various other post-classical missions are, in their turn, an alternative both to faith missions and to classical missions. But in this plural context, the faith missions still play an important role, which deserves a detailed study.

Chapter 5: Reaching the Unreached: Faith Mission Geography

It is sometimes assumed that faith missions were started as a reaction against 'liberal theology', or as a reaction against the classical missions beginning to absorb liberal concepts. This conception is unfounded in history¹ and has no basis in the early statements of faith missions.² These do differ from what was commonly held by the classical missions, but only in their ecclesiology—by assuming that varying and, at times, contradictory ecclesiologies can be rightly derived from the New Testament witness.³ Faith missions came into existence primarily because there were millions of unreached people and no (classical) mission willing or able to evangelize them speedily. A secondary reason for the development of faith missions was their background in a different revival, which led to different concepts of evangelism, holiness and eschatology, and of the church and its offices. A third reason was new (or revived) methods such as faith support and itinerant evangelism.

This does not mean that faith mission leaders favoured a critical study of the Bible, but fighting 'liberalism' was none of their main concerns. A.B. Simpson is typical: when he occasionally spoke of a captain on the Mississippi who used to say, when asked about the dangerous spots: "I

¹ Such reactions to liberalism occurred only in the 20th century. But these reactions then usually did not take the form of a faith mission. The clearest example in the Evangelical realm is possibly the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society (1987: 525 missionaries). It has some common features with faith missions, but it is a post-classical denominational mission. In the fundamentalist realm the outstanding example is the Independent Board for Presbyterian Missions (1987: 40 missionaries), a classical fundamentalist mission.

² They formulate what was common ground with the classical missions: "Loyal to the fundamentals of the faith and the great basic doctrines of the Scripture" (Rowland Bingham, *Seven Sevens of Years*, 113).

³ The early LMS shared a similar opinion as far as church government was concerned. Using very different exegetical methods, the same result was reached by: Eduard Schweizer, *Church Order in the New Testament*, London 1961, 13.

know where the river is *not* dangerous, and that's where I do my sailing."⁴ A.J. Gordon, founder of the Boston Missionary Training Institute, was claimed as a leading apologist of the Bible, but he defended it by expounding it.⁵ When the AIM was founded, it stated that it wanted neither to criticize nor to fight any other organization, just to do what others were not doing.⁶ What others were not doing sufficiently was trying to reach the unreached interior of Africa—hence the name: Africa *Inland* Mission.⁷

New Missions to Reach the Unreached

Several founders of faith missions had tried, before they started a new mission, to make the classical missions advance into areas which they were convinced had become accessible, but which were still unreached. Hudson Taylor had travelled all over England and Scotland to achieve this, but only one mission felt able to do any more than to advance slowly from the coast.⁸ Rowland Bingham and Walter Gowans in 1893 did the same for the Sudan, although only for some weeks.⁹ Dr Brønnum, the first Danish SUM missionary, had first applied officially to join the Danske Missionsselskab 'for work among black Mohammedans,'¹⁰ and when Ernst Lohmann (Orientmission)

⁴ Albert E. Thompson, *A.B. Simpson*, 156f.

⁵ Gordon, *How Christ Came to Church* 102. Contradictions in the Bible he ascribed to his lack of understanding.

⁶ *Hearing and Doing*, no. 1, 1910.

⁷ *<https://aimint.org>. *wiki.

⁸ A.J. Broomhall, *Survivors' Pact*, Sevenoaks/London 1984, 37-41. Cf. Hudson Taylor, *Retrospect*, London, ¹⁸1974, 113.

⁹ Rowland Bingham, *Seven Sevens of Years*, 15.

¹⁰ Niels Brønnum - Danske Missionsselskab [DMS] 4.9.1910. In so applying he conformed to the wishes of his Sudan-Committee. This Committee on 19.10.1910 wrote to the DMS, should they reject Brønnum's application, they would find another way to send him to the Sudan. On 31.10.1910 the DMS wrote to Brønnum that they had accepted him for China (only). The same day Brønnum suggested to his Sudan Committee to cooperate with the SUM (Brønnum - Sudan Committee 31.10.1910; he would not favour cooperation DMS/SUM 27.11.1910). On the 6.12.1910 SUM London wired that an independent Danish branch may be formed.

wanted to begin a German SUM branch,¹¹ he first asked the Basel Mission if they would be willing to work in Adamaua,¹² but they felt unable to extend their coastal missionary work that far northwards.¹³ In 1902, Lucy and Karl Kumm started the 'Lightbearers' League'—not, it soon turned out, as the nucleus of a new mission, but as a support for their effort to get the British Free Churches moving to evangelize the unreached 60 million living in the Sudan, the largest still unreached area in the world. Wherever they went, the echo was friendly and the answer the same: we cannot undertake new work without harming existing work. If any new work were to be undertaken, new resources would have to be found.¹⁴

However, new resources were difficult to come by, as there was little *new* revival among their supporters, who came from the Great Awakening.¹⁵

The Danish Branch was officially recognized in June 1912 (SUM - Pedersen 5.6.1912). Present name: Dansk Forenet Sudan Mission.

¹¹ The German Colonial Office in spring 1914 finally granted permission for Protestant missionary work among the Laka in Northern Cameroon (Ernst Lohmann - Oettli 31.3.1914).

¹² Ernst Lohmann [Director, Deutscher Hilfsbund] - Kumm 25.6.1912; Ernst Lohmann - Oettli 31.5.1912 [mentioned in Oettli - Lohmann 6.6.1912].

¹³ Oettli - Lohmann 6.6.1912; 21.8.1913.

¹⁴ The Wesleyan Missionary Society's answer to the request of the Sudan Pioneer Mission, to start work in the Sudan, is representative of others: "The Committee is impressed with the great need and the great opportunity presented at the present time in Eastern Nigeria, and with the special responsibility laid upon our Church by our position in West Africa. But in face of the overwhelming needs of our existing mission fields, and in view of prior calls of God to extension elsewhere, the Committee does not feel justified in undertaking so large an enterprise as that proposed, unless means of carrying it on can be found independently of the Society's present resources" (Quoted in Min. Sudan Pioneer Mission [date was lost in the process of photocopying] 1905).

¹⁵ The Kumms did not approach the CMS as they were preparing for an advance into what then became Northern Nigeria. The CMS had, contrary to the Free Churches, gained quite some support from the 1873 revival, especially through the Keswick Movement. *This CMS advance was ignored in the Edinburgh 1910 report on Africa, as much as the efforts of the faith missions to reach the Sudan Belt.

They had their hands full with the work they had started earlier, and were usually sufficiently in debt to discourage new endeavours.¹⁶ Sometimes they asked faith missions directly to take up opportunities which they could not use.¹⁷

The names of many of the faith missions illustrate very clearly their aim to reach the unreached: because the coastal areas were often already reached by the classical missions, and the faith missions did not want to compete with them, the faith missions added to the geographical element in their names another element, indicating that they wanted to reach an unreached area: China *Inland* Mission, Africa *Inland* Mission, Congo *Inland* Mission, Sudan *Interior* Mission, *Unevangelized* Africa Mission, *Unevangelized* Tribes Mission, *New Tribes* Mission and Sudan-*Pionier*-Mission.¹⁸ Some missions, such as the Southern Morocco Mission, the North Africa Mission, the Kurku and Central India Hill Mission and the Heart of Africa Mission, did not need to add such an element to their names, because the whole area was unreached.

An exception was the South Africa General Mission which, in its early years, also worked among the white population. In this work, however, they preached holiness and strictly avoided to start churches. Missions which very strongly endeavoured to reach the unreached but did not express that

¹⁶ Just one example: While Methodist membership was steadily growing, mission income decreased annually till 1893, reaching the 1875 level again only in 1902 (*Lightbearer* May 1906, copied with permission from the Wesleyan Mission Society Magazine).

¹⁷ When Okut-Ibuno, the highest ranking chief of Obarakan at the Qua Iboe River on the Calabar Coast wrote to the United Free Church of Scotland missionaries asking for a white teacher, they felt unable to provide one and passed on the letter to Grattan Guinness, who read it to his students, asking them if someone would volunteer (Jean S. Corbett, *According to Plan. The Story of Samuel Alexander Bill, Founder of the Qua Iboe Mission, Nigeria*, Worthing ²1979[1977], 11).

¹⁸ The SUM originally carried the name Sudan Pioneer Mission, but in order not to sound presumptuous, the name was changed to Sudan United Mission, since the SUM was not the very first mission in the *whole* of the Sudan, only in their area.

in their names were the Christian and Missionary Alliance and the Gospel Missionary Union, both of US origin.

This 'faith mission geography' was based on a distinct theology of salvation and lostness: Christ is the only saviour and everyone who does not believe in him, is eternally lost. This makes all men equal.¹⁹ James M. Gray, AIM missionary and later President of Moody Bible Institute, formulated what was then the general conviction:²⁰

- The heathen are sinners like all mankind.
- Like everyone else, they are fully responsible to God (Romans 1:18-25).
- The hope of heathenism lies not in itself.²¹
- We have no right to assume that the heathen will be offered a chance of salvation after death.²²

¹⁹ Grattan Guinness closes his article on the Sudan Belt with this plea: "We plead for the neglected millions of the Soudan. We say to the Church of Jesus Christ, 'Behold them! They are our own brothers and sisters in a common humanity. They are one with us in sin and ruin, let them be one with us in the knowledge of salvation'" (Grattan Guinness, "The Soudan" in: *The Faithful Witness* 7.12.1889). This equality as a theological tenet was never questioned, but not always translated into everyday life and relationships, visible for example in the fact that after about 1905 the faith missions' attitude to black missionaries became increasingly negative.

²⁰ James M. Gray, "Are the Heathen Lost?" in: *Hearing and Doing* No 1, 1900. Similar: N.N., "Are the Heathen Safe?" in: *South African Pioneer*, 1891,193. See also the SIM tract "Are The Heathen Lost?" or "Will Those Who Have Never Heard The Gospel Go To Hell?" (Toronto nd).

²¹ This conception is based on verses like John 14:6 or John 3:36. Matthew 25, where people who did not know Christ receive eternal life, was not taken into account.

²² At Andover Seminary it was taught that those who had never heard of Christ would be given a chance of receiving eternal life after death. For an emphatic rebuttal of this "Andover theory of probation" see: *MRW* 1887, 296.

A.B. Simpson, when speaking at the 1892 Asbury Park Convention, used different words: "There is another side of human life, not less real because less visible. Every fifteen minutes in yonder heavenly world the awful tidings are reported that a thousand souls have been lost forever."²³

The conviction that everyone who, for whatever reason, does not believe in Christ is eternally lost, did not draw the faith mission leaders to speculation about the ways and means of God's eternal wisdom.²⁴ Their theology was an applied one, so they simply asked: What must we do? Henry W. Frost, the Canadian founder of the North American branch of the CIM, gave the typical answer during the Niagara Conference of 1885: "I determined to alleviate the woes of the perishing millions."²⁵ Prairie Bible Institute, the most important faith mission Bible school in Canada, formulated it thus: "If we believe that all are lost without Christ, we'll give our lives for the perishing millions."²⁶ Sometimes such a decision was very dramatic. Héli Chatelin was very often ill in his childhood. During a sickness, which brought him close to death, he "finally found peace in Jesus, about whom he had known so much already." He felt a deep longing to be with God, but he also longed "to do something for God and mankind before his death." In a vision, he saw "the black interior of Africa" and realized how many lives would have to be sacrificed, "to bring the many heathen, poor and lost as they are,"²⁷ to

²³ A.B. Simpson, "Christianity's Crime" in: A.B. Simpson, *Missionary Messages*, New York nd [1925], 70. In his article "Twenty-One Reasons" (1909) he combines the theme with one of his rare attacks against the "new theology" of those who like to call themselves "liberal Christians" (*Missionary Messages* 86f).

²⁴ The issue of predestination was not discussed, since the faith missions then were heavily influenced by Arminianism.

²⁵ Delavan L. Pierson, *Arthur T. Pierson*, New York et al. 1912, 61). See also: Alvyn J. Austin, "Blessed Adversity: Henry W. Frost and the China Inland Mission" in: Carpenter/Shenk, *Earthen Vessels* 47-70.

²⁶ Junior Programm 1953, Prairie Bible Institute.

²⁷ The faith missions saw the Heathen as suffering, but not primarily from poverty, ignorance and disease, but from not knowing Christ. The healing to this suffering is the proclamation of the Christian message. But this did and does not exclude at all endeavours to alleviate the suffering from poverty, ignorance and disease.

salvation."²⁸ There and then, he decided to give his life to missionary work in the interior of Africa.

In faith mission publications, there are no hints that non-Christians might find a way to salvation within their own religions. Nor are there any hints that for those who never had a chance to hear the gospel there might exist another way of salvation.²⁹ Because there is no other way, it is the Christians' duty to reach everyone with the gospel. This means priority for unreached areas.³⁰ Even in the countries of Christendom, those who 'really believe in Christ', are a minority, but everyone has a chance to hear the message or to read it. If someone in the 'reached countries' does not believe, that is his own decision, but in an unreached area no one can believe, since no one has the chance to hear.³¹ Not to combat this state of affairs with an all-out effort³² is Christianity's crime.³³

Catholic is Unreached

Faith missions had no intention of competing with other Protestant missions (see Romans 15:20) and, with very few exceptions, they did not

²⁸ Alida Chatelin, *Héli Chatelin*, 13 (based on a handwritten autobiography of Chatelin which is no longer extant).

²⁹ In the manifold primary sources, I could not find any other tendencies than those described here.

³⁰ Studd formulated the aim of WEC: "The speediest possible fulfilment of the command of Christ to evangelize the whole world by a definite attempt to evangelize the remaining unevangelized parts of the earth" (C.T. Studd, *Christ's Etceteras* 6). For this effort "We seek to evangelize only such portions of the world as are at present unevangelized" (5).

³¹ *The Christian Alliance* 1888,79 (Helen Kinney) "In America there is at least saving knowledge, if not saving faith, but in Africa even this knowledge is not yet known."

³² A.T. Pierson states that it cannot be right to have 100 ministers for 70,000 Christians, but only 3 missionaries for 1 Million Heathen (A.T. Pierson, "The World's Want and the Church's Neglect," in: *WWW* 1883,29).

³³ A.B. Simpson, 31.7.1892, sermon at Asbury Park Convention on Proverbs 24,1f in: Simpson, *Missionary Messages* 69-84.

compete.³⁴ But their reluctance to avoid competition did not apply to Catholic areas. Following the precedence of the Evangelical Alliance (1846), it was not doubted that Catholics could attain to saving faith even within their church,³⁵ but neither the Roman Catholic Church nor the Orthodox churches were accepted as true churches.³⁶ Often the 'papacy' was identified with the Antichrist, for example by A.B. Simpson³⁷ and by Grattan Guinness,³⁸ though clearly not by Fredrik Franson.³⁹

³⁴ An exception, already described, were the two industrial missions in Malawi (ZIM, NIM). A case of a somewhat uneasy nearness occurred in Kenya: The Neukirchen missionaries settled just across the Tana River from the Methodist missionaries. But the area was insofar unreached as the Methodists evangelized only among the "Galla," whereas they had as yet done nothing for the majority Pokomo, who then reacted very friendly to the Neukirchen missionaries. (Bernd Brandl, *A Part of Kenyan Mission History: Observations on the Methodist Galla Mission at the Tana River. Report of a Research Journey*, unpublished, ETF Heverlee 1992); David L. Miller, "Problems and Possibilities in the Period of Colonial Consolidation: Christian Missions and Lower Pokomoni, c. 1900-1920" in: Niels-Peter Moritzen, J.C. Winter, *Ostafrikanische Völker zwischen Mission und Regierung*, Erlangen 1982, 144-163 (145). For the history of the Methodist Mission see: E.S. Wakefield, *Thomas Wakefield. Missionary and Geographical Pioneer in East Africa*, London 1904; Joseph Kirsop, *The Life of Robert Moss Ormerod*, London 1901.

³⁵ Cf. Report of the Proceedings of the Conference, held at Freemasons' Hall, London, from August 19th to September 2nd inclusive, 1846, London 1847, for example 263-270. - Estimates about the percentage of "saved" Catholics varied greatly.

³⁶ In this they were in accord with the official teaching of the Reformation churches.

³⁷ F.A. Pyles, "The Missionary Eschatologie of A.B. Simpson" in: Hartzfeld/Nienkirchen, *The Birth of a Vision* 29-48 [33].

³⁸ Grattan Guinness, never much pro Catholic, had a disturbing experience, when on a visit from Paris to Spain in 1869 he visited the Quemadero, a place of executions of the Inquisition, which was just under excavation, and found the ashes of the martyrs (Michele Guinness, *Guinness Legend* 91). See also his: *Romanism and the Reformation from the Standpoint of Prophecy*, London 1887.

³⁹ Franson's talk during the Prophetic Conference, Chicago 1881.

This meant that the Catholic countries, for example France, counted as 'unreached'⁴⁰ and when the Guinneses, after meeting Hudson Taylor, went to Paris for evangelistic service, that meant foreign mission work for them.⁴¹ By means of her book *The Neglected Continent*, their daughter Lucy helped to establish that the whole of South America was to be regarded as an evangelical mission field.⁴² One response to her book was that, in Toronto, a mission was founded for Peru, which came under the responsibility of ELTI in 1897,⁴³ and from 1900 onwards under the name of Regions Beyond Missionary Union. It was only natural that the RBMU protested strongly, when it was decided that missionary work among Catholics was not to be counted as foreign mission work.⁴⁴ This decision was one of several which

⁴⁰ *The Missionary Review of the World*, edited by A.T. Pierson, shows the significance of France as a faith mission field. The most important mission in France of that time was the McAll Mission, which also had ties to the ELTI, though no official ones. The McAll mission concentrated on evangelism, whenever a church sprang up, it was joined to an existing Protestant denomination. For details see: Reuben Saillens, "The Religious State of France and the McAll Mission" in: *MRW* 1888, 896-902.

⁴¹ They started a "chapel" in Rue Royal (Michele Guinness, *The Guinness Legend*, 90-94).

⁴² The first major faith mission for Latin America was the Central America Mission, founded by Cyrus I. Scofield in 1890 (Charles G. Trumbull, *The Life Story of C.I. Scofield*, New York et al. 1920, 66-74 "Victory and Missions"). By her book: Lucy Guinness; E.C. Millard, *South America. The Neglected Continent*, London 1894, Lucy Guinness did much to establish Latin America as a Protestant mission field. Her book was instrumental in the start of a missionary work in Peru with a base in Toronto, which in 1897 came under the supervision of ELTI (Mackintosh, *Harry Guinness* 55f, esp. 56).

⁴³ C.W. Mackintosh, *Dr. Harry Guinness. The Life Story of Henry Grattan Guinness*, London 1916, 55f, esp. 56.

⁴⁴ The issue of whether missions working in a Catholic or Orthodox area were proper foreign missions was a major bone of contention in the preparations for Edinburgh 1910. RBMU protested officially against the decision, not to include missionary work in Catholic countries (cf. also *MRW* 1910, 561f). After receiving a negative reply from the organizers, it was decided to hold a meeting with the view of possibly organizing a conference to find out if the Roman Catholic Church is a

caused faith missions and classical missions, which had been moving together somewhat, to begin definitely to move further apart again.⁴⁵

In no way did faith missions regard the Catholic missions as 'sister missions', but neither did they push hard to start work where Catholics had already started,⁴⁶ although they did sometimes attempt to reach an area before the Catholics could⁴⁷ or they tried to become the first Protestant mission in a 'Catholic country',⁴⁸ although there they did not normally work among the few Catholics.

sister church or not (Min. 13.1.1910). - *For the context see: Klaus Fiedler, "Edinburgh 1910 and the Evangelicals", *Evangelical Theological Review*, 34/4, 2010, 53-71.

⁴⁵ Some evangelical writers see Edinburgh 1910 as the summit of evangelicalism. Though Mott had been strongly influenced by A.T. Pierson in his formative years, seen from the standpoint of the faith missions, this was definitely not the case. Many of them took part, but often with definite uneasiness. The whole conference rose, when the news of Grattan Guinness' death was received and honoured him with a hymn, but Karl Kumm was allowed to present the case of the unreached Sudan only after protest and outside the main programme. - *To me the decision to exclude South America reflects the shift of the Conference from the (revival) emphasis on conversion to the (church) emphasis on baptism. *For the 100-year celebrations of Edinburgh 1910 I wrote: "Edinburgh 1910, Africa 2010 and the Evangelicals," *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, xxxvi (3) 2010, 53-71, arguing that the Evangelical missions never separated from the Classical missions because they were never one.

⁴⁶ The early QIM, AIM, SIM, SUM, CBM, GMU and others had no Catholic competition.

⁴⁷ Min. SUM 26.6.1912: "If the CMS cannot start work in the Azande country (East Sudan) this year, the SUM is willing to start there next year ... that the country should be occupied by Protestants and not handed over to the Catholics, which would be a serious block to further work in the Central Sudan."

⁴⁸ The Livingstone Inland Mission (1878) was the first Protestant mission in Zaire (Congo), and Svenska Missionsförbundet was in 1909 the first Protestant mission in Congo (Brazzaville). Both countries could be considered "Catholic countries" in so far as the Catholic mission was the first to enter the country, but both LIM and SMF did not work among Catholics.

Faith Missions Go International

The idea of international cooperation in missionary work was not developed by the faith missions, but by the classical missions. German-speaking mission seminaries trained men for British and Dutch missions,⁴⁹ and even the Paris Mission did not want its own mission field in the beginning. The growing denominational consciousness sometimes made cooperation difficult, but more often the simple wish to have a mission of one's own "nationalized" the missionary work. And since the Protestant churches usually were territorial churches, international structures were strange to them.⁵⁰ The faith missions then took up the idea of international missionary work. As they were not hampered by denominational borders (which normally were national borders, too), they could become far more international than the classical missions, and later some (though by no means all) pushed the concept to its logical limits.⁵¹ But the process was gradual.

The first faith mission was born in England, but Scotland and Ireland already early played a major role in it. Some of the first CIM missionaries came from Scotland.⁵² By his trip to visit the Guinness in Dublin in 1866, Hudson Taylor won his first Irish missionaries.⁵³ The early development of the CIM is typical of many a faith mission. In whatever country of the United Kingdom they started, they tried to spread into the other countries: The Livingstone Inland Mission had strong roots in Wales,⁵⁴ the Qua Iboe Mission even today has

⁴⁹ Two of them, who had some importance for the faith missions, were Johannes Krapf (CMS) and Karl Gützlaff (NZG).

⁵⁰ This did not apply to the Moravians, one of the few international Protestant churches.

⁵¹ Some of the most international faith missions today are WEC, SIM, Wycliffe, OMF with branches in many countries and an ever-increasing share of Non-Western missionaries.

⁵² A.J. Broomhall, *Survivors' Pact*, Sevenoaks/London 1984, 150.

⁵³ The trip to Ireland (19.-28.2.1866) is described in: Broomhall, *Survivors' Pact* 117-122; Michele Guinness, *Guinness Legend* 84-86.

⁵⁴ The first initiative was taken by the Baptist pastor A. Tilly of Cardiff who solicited financial help from a Mr. Cory, also from Cardiff. Another early supporter was James Irvine of Liverpool (Fanny Guinness, *The New World of Central Africa* 179).

its headquarter in Northern Ireland.⁵⁵ The Sudan United Mission found most of its early support in Scotland,⁵⁶ the North Africa Mission originated in London.⁵⁷ Typical was the endeavour of the SUM to establish as quickly as possible a council each in Scotland, Ireland and England.⁵⁸ Though the countries of Great Britain were politically united, they were organized separately in religious affairs. This British plurality was the first international step of the faith missions, though later there developed a tendency to move offices to London and to dissolve the Scottish branch.

The first mission to create a North American branch was the CIM (1888).⁵⁹ Grattan Guinness tried hard to spread the faith mission idea in America, but he did not try to start American branches for the ELTI related missions, instead he encouraged the founding of American missions.⁶⁰ The Cape General Mission (later constituent part of the SAGM) received American support already in 1893,⁶¹ in 1906 the American branch became independent.⁶² The SUM, founded in 1904, established already in 1906 a North

⁵⁵ Today the Qua Iboe Mission receives half of its income from outside Ireland.

⁵⁶ Min. SUM 1904-1906.

⁵⁷ Francis R. Steele, *Not in Vain. The Story of North Africa Mission*, Pasadena 1981, 14-19.

⁵⁸ *Lightbearer* July 1907 gives the complete list.

⁵⁹ The North American CIM branch was in its beginnings almost exclusively a Canadian branch. It was founded by Henry W. Frost. His autobiography was never published, for a biography (which also contains much on Canadian CIM missionaries in China) see Geraldine and Howard Taylor, *By Faith. Henry W. Frost and the China Inland Mission*, Singapore ²1988(1938). For Frost's role in a new definition of CIM's doctrinal base see: Alwyn J. Austin, "Blessed Adversity: Henry W. Frost and the China Inland Mission" in: Carpenter/Shenk, *Earthen Vessels* 47-70.

⁶⁰ The most important lasting results were the Gospel Missionary Union in Kansas and the CMA missionary work in Eastern Sierra Leone.

⁶¹ Spencer Walton travelled to the United States in 1893 with recommendations from Andrew Murray to A.T. Pierson und A.J. Gordon, fellow leaders in the Holiness Movement. At the Student Volunteer Movement conference of 1894 Walton met Hudson Taylor (George E. Weeks, *Spencer Walton* 84f). After 1940 the USA became more important as a home base than Britain (AEF Guide 17).

⁶² AEF Guide 7.

American Branch with a house of its own in Germantown (Philadelphia).⁶³ Later the center of gravity shifted to Canada.⁶⁴ In 1906 first Karl and then Lucy Kumm paid extensive visits to the States,⁶⁵ where Lucy died.⁶⁶ In 1906 SUM-US had already four missionaries. The union (soon to be dissolved again) with the Africa Industrial Mission [SIM] was another attempt to make the SUM even more international.

When a British mission took roots in America, usually there was an invitation or some contact. Both were lacking, when Constance Brandon landed there in 1920 to establish a WEC home base.⁶⁷ In 1922 she had reached her aim of establishing an independent North American branch of WEC,⁶⁸ two years later it had grown sufficiently that (led by Rev. Roadhouse)

⁶³ *Lightbearer* July 1906. Much support came from Rev. Stearn's Bible classes. The D.M. Stearn's Missionary Fund still exists today.

⁶⁴ The first SUM-Canada Council met in 1924 (The SUM 75th Jubilee 1904-1979, Sidcup 1979, 26). - Not long after inauguration the American branch became weak (Min. SUM 14.7.1909; 7.2.1911). Renewed interest from (Holiness-)Quakers prevented its dissolution (J. Gruhler, Builder, Germantown - Redmayne 8.5.1911). In 1912 Kumm went to the States to strengthen the American branch. When the War started in 1914, Kumm moved to America, feeling that with his former German citizenship he would do the mission a service by leaving Britain (Min. SUM 9.9.14 "On the consideration of Home Expenses under the circumstances of the war, Dr. Kumm suggested that it might be well for him to comply with the repeated invitations from the American Branch to help them develop their work"). Min. 20.2.1915 stated that it would be better for Kumm to remain in the States.

⁶⁵ *Lightbearer* May 1906, 75.

⁶⁶ She died on the 11.8.1906 at Northfield of peritonitis after an untreated ectopic pregnancy in the fallopian tube which burst (Telegramme Wil Moody - Karl Kumm 12.8.1906; Michele Guinness - Fiedler 22.2.1993).

⁶⁷ She was "a single, unknown, lone Englishwomen, to represent the Heart of Africa Mission" (Rhoadhouse in the editorial of the first American issue of "The Worldwide Evangelization Crusade" Oct./Nov. 1923). - I do not agree with Eileen Vincent, *C.T. Studd and Priscilla*, 217: "The American council had been founded by the visits of Alfred Buxton, Priscilla, and the deputation secretary, Miss C. Brandon."

⁶⁸ Min. First Meeting of the Council for North America 24.1.22, Constance Brandon Organizing Secretary.

the Canadian section became a home base of its own.⁶⁹ Because of problems with the autocratic leadership of C.T. Studd, nearly all the North American WEC missionaries joined the AIM,⁷⁰ and the two American branches after that ceased to exist because no agreement with C.T. Studd could be reached in spite of Alfred Buxton's attempts to mediate.⁷¹ In 1933⁷² Olive Ashton made a new start in Canada,⁷³ on which than Alfred Ruscoe could build.⁷⁴ In 1936 he reestablished WEC-USA.⁷⁵

For missions which originated in the United States, it was obvious to look to Canada for international expansion, for Canadian missions it was the other way round. A.B. Simpson's Missionary Alliance was renamed already in 1889 as International Missionary Alliance to include Canada as well.⁷⁶ The

⁶⁹ Min. WEC-US Council 19.9.1924; The Worldwide Evangelization Crusade, American ed. Dec. 1924. Cf. Constance Brandon - Alfred Buxton, 9.8.1924.

⁷⁰ HDC (AIM) - Grimwood 7.1.1926; 18.1.1926; 26.1.1926; HDC - Field Council 3.6.1926; HDC - Pierson 28.6.1926.

⁷¹ The last information available to me on the American branch is that it will now work independently, as no agreement with C.T. Studd could be reached (Alfred Buxton in "Evangelization Now!" No 64 [15.11.1926-15.1.1927]). There the sources at WEC-US end. But they must not necessarily be complete.

⁷² Perhaps already in 1932, the sources are ambiguous (*World Conquest* Nov./Dec. 1933).

⁷³ Olive Ashton had been a WEC [HAM] missionary to Zaire, where she was given the name Ma Kanada. The correspondence relating to her work in Canada is at the WEC center in Ft. Washington. She left Kanada in 1934 temporarily, handing her work over to Harry Spence. She did not return to Canada in 1935 because Norman Grubb wanted her to work with him in Britain (Ashton - Spence 30.8.1935).

⁷⁴ Ma Kanada [Ashton] - Rusiko [Ruscoe] 6.11.1936.

⁷⁵ Alfred W. Ruscoe, *The Lame Take the Prey. An Autobiography*, Ft Washington/Toronto 1968 tells the story. See esp. 75, 95-97.

⁷⁶ Niklaus/Sawin/Stoesz, *All for Jesus* 85f "Canadian Cooperation." In 1887 Dr. William Cassidy became the first Canadian missionary and the first CMA missionary to China, but died on his way in Japan from small pox, which he had contracted on board ship [steerage class] (Paul L. King, "Early Alliance Missions in China" in: Hartzfeld/Nienkirchen, *Birth of a Vision* 261-277 [264f]).

AIM tried very early to gain support from Canada,⁷⁷ but only in 1936 a Canadian structure was created.⁷⁸

Like the British missions, the American missions usually felt a strong urge to cross the Atlantic. The AIM was founded in Philadelphia in 1895.⁷⁹ It had a British Council in 1906,⁸⁰ from which the independent British branch developed.⁸¹ SIM, founded as Africa Industrial Mission in Toronto in 1898,⁸² soon had a Liverpool committee, but in 1920 it hardly existed any more. Bingham visited in 1922 Great Britain and organized a council each in Liverpool and in Glasgow.⁸³

At about the same time the faith missions spread to the British Dominions in Africa and Australia. For the SUM this happened very quickly by a little

⁷⁷ With the union of the Christian Alliance and the Missionary Alliance to form the Christian and Missionary Alliance Canada lost its independence which inaugurated a drastic decline of the CMA work there (Niklaus/Sawin/Stoesz, *All for Jesus* 99). For the history of CMA-Canada and its founder John Salmon see: Lindsay Reynolds, *Footprints. The Beginnings of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada*, Toronto 1982 (esp. 295ff).

⁷⁸ Oswald Smith, Pastor of the "Peoples Church," a CMA congregation of the Tabernacle type, was president (see Wheaton Archives 81-7-4). In 1952 first steps were undertaken to make the Canadian branch independent (Min. AIM 17.12.52). This was achieved in 1956 (Min. AIM International Conference Meeting 10-14.9.1956).

⁷⁹ Scott was an immigrant from Scotland, and since one member was a Scotsman and the first party was to meet in Scotland, the AIM was constituted only there and Scott elected to lead it (*Hearing and Doing* Nr 1, 5 [1895]). But no Scottish or British home base was envisaged.

⁸⁰ Mrs Elizabeth Parker-Brown was Organizing Secretary of the British Home Council. Two brief visits by Hurlbert and a letter by A.T. Pierson following them up laid the ground. Rev. Stuart Holden headed the British Council (*Hearing and Doing* July/Oct. 1906).

⁸¹ For the development of AIM see Wheaton Archives 81-7-4.

⁸² SIM and ECWA give 1893 as year of foundation. But the enterprise of 1893 was an independent mission. There was personal continuity to the SIM, but no organizational continuity.

⁸³ Min. SIM First Council Meeting 21.9.1922.

leaflet,⁸⁴ which in 1905 a Scottish friend sent to Dr Fallon in South Africa after hearing Kumm speak.⁸⁵ He was so fascinated that he immediately organized an auxiliary,⁸⁶ which Kumm's visit in 1907 transformed into an independent council.⁸⁷

Kumm's next great journey took him again to South Africa, but more important were Australia and New Zealand, where Kumm organized SUM councils.⁸⁸ In 1913 the decision was taken that SUM-AUS/NZ should work in the Eastern section of the Sudan Belt, since their missionaries could reach the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan much easier than Nigeria.⁸⁹ Charles E. Hurlbert visited Australia in 1918, whereupon Rev. and Mrs Stuart Bryson went to Kenya as AIM missionaries. When they had to leave Kenya for health reasons in 1938, Stuart Bryson became full time secretary of the Australian Council.⁹⁰ In 1926 Bingham visited Australia and New Zealand, and over the following 11 years 20 missionaries from these countries joined SIM.⁹¹ In 1937 South Africans became interested in the SIM.⁹²

WEC experienced a quick worldwide expansion. Constance Brandon, who had started WEC in the USA in 1920, went to New Zealand and Australia in

⁸⁴ Min. SIM First Council Meeting 21.9.1922.

⁸⁵ *Lightbearer* 1908, 173.

⁸⁶ *Lightbearer* Christmas 1905. According to *Lightbearer* 1908, 173 he first visited Andrew Murray who advised him to start a South African auxiliary. The older source here seems to be more reliable.

⁸⁷ *Lightbearer* July 1907.

⁸⁸ Karl Kumm, Report of a visit to South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America, undertaken in the interests of the United Mission.

⁸⁹ Min. SUM 23.4.1913. A similar development was the handing over of the CMS work in Central Tanzania by the CMS to the Australian Branch. - For an overview of SUM-AUS/NZ work see: *The SUM 75th Jubilee 1904-1979*, Sidcup 1979, 6.

⁹⁰ Kenneth Richardson, *Garden of Miracles. The Story of the Africa Inland Mission*, London, 1976, 79f. In 1961 the council became fully independent.

⁹¹ Min. SIM 1937 II-2.

⁹² Rev. R. Wighton (Min. SUM 1937/II-2). In 1938 Isabella Graham became the first South African SIM missionary (Min. SUM 1938/II).

1922 and began WEC work there.⁹³ Priscilla Studd then followed up her contacts and established a permanent WEC home base there.⁹⁴ Priscilla went to South Africa as well.⁹⁵ After WEC's big crisis Hans von Staden,⁹⁶ missionary of the Africa Evangelistic Band (and in 1942 the founder of the Dorothea Mission),⁹⁷ organized a South African WEC branch.⁹⁸

A special role in this "Commonwealth stage" of international faith mission expansion was played by the South Africa General Mission, which was organized in Cape Town in 1894 by joining Cape General Mission (1889) and South East Africa Mission (1889) and South East Africa Evangelistic Mission (1891).⁹⁹ Some of its members were (white) South Africans. In spite of it being founded in Cape Town and the South African Andrew Murray being its president, the SAGM was not a South African mission, but a field directed British mission, whose field council doubled as its South African branch.¹⁰⁰

⁹³ Constance Brandon - Priscilla Studd 29.10.1925.

⁹⁴ Eileen Vincent, *C.T. Studd and Priscilla* 218. "She covered over 31 000 miles in Australia and another 6000 in New Zealand. Altogether she took 272 meetings ... 30 applied to the mission."

⁹⁵ Eileen Vincent, *C.T. Studd and Priscilla* 218.

⁹⁶ (1905-1986). For his life story see: Dorothea Rundbrief 121.

⁹⁷ See: 45 Jahre Dorothea Mission in: Dorothea Rundbrief 123.

⁹⁸ *The World of WEC*, Gerrards Cross nd. The relations between WEC and van Staden, who had a high appreciation of C.T Studd and visited North Eastern Zaire in 1935, remained close till his death. Patrick Johnstone, editor of "Operation World," was a Dorothea missionary until in 1979, on the suggestion of Leslie Brierley, he joined WEC to become its research secretary. The first "Operation World" was issued in 1974, the current is 1993. - *OperationWorld.org/ Africa/owtext.html

⁹⁹ George Weeks, *Spencer Walton* 90; AEF Guide 6.

¹⁰⁰ Meanwhile AEF has a proper international structure with headquarters in Reading (GB).

Zambezi Industrial Mission (1892)¹⁰¹ and Nyassa Industrial Mission (1893),¹⁰² both founded by Joseph Booth as Australian missions,¹⁰³ were soon taken over by British Christians. A similar process took place with the Mission Philafricaine, which Héli Chatelin in 1896 had founded in the USA as the "Philafrican Liberators' League."¹⁰⁴ In 1899 his sister Alida started a Swiss auxiliary,¹⁰⁵ to which the American committee transferred all responsibility after the missionaries sent out could not agree with Chatelin and money generally had failed to come in.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ See also: Cairns (Mrs), *Pastor Charlie Bonongwe. Chosen, Called and Faithful*, Wroughton nd; Brenda Hobrow, *Malawi Revisited* by Ruth Duncan, Mary Farquharson and Brenda Hobrow (News and Prayer Letter Brenda Hobrow June 1985).

¹⁰² Likhubula was founded in 1896 with Australian personnel and constituted a separate mission the same year (David Langford, Joseph Booth 39). Its Australian committee dissolved itself the same year for financial and other reasons [The Jubilee of the Nyasa Mission 1893-1943, 5]. Richard Cory was NIM president till 1914 (14).

¹⁰³ Much valuable information on Booth is contained in George Shepperson and Thomas Price, *Independent African. John Chilembwe and the Origin, Settings and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Rising of 1915*, Edinburgh, 1958. *For an excellent biography written by his great grandson, see: Harry Langworthy, *"Africa for the African." The Life of Joseph Booth*, Blantyre: CLAIM-Kachere, 1996. For his New Zealand and Australian background see: Klaus Fiedler, *The Making of a Maverick Missionary. Joseph Booth in Australasia*, Zomba: Kachere, 2008; Mzuzu: Luviri Press, 2016. (This book also corrects some mistakes in Harry Langworthy's book due to the fact that he never visited either New Zealand or Australia and had to rely on Booth's daughter Emily's memory who left Australia at the age of 8).

¹⁰⁴ Héli Chatelin, "The First Expedition Successful!" in: NN, *Les Rapports de la Mission Philafricaine 1898-1905*, Lausanne 1905.

¹⁰⁵ Already in 1896 Swiss ladies had organized a sale and sent 850 Sfr to New York ("Statement No 3. Success of the Philafrican Liberators' League" 7 in: *Les Rapports de la Mission Philafricaine 1898-1905*, Lausanne 1905).

¹⁰⁶ Rudolphe Bréchet, *J'ai ouvert une porte devant toi. Essai sur l'histoire de la Mission Philafricaine*, Lausanne nd [1972], 12-14.

When Hudson Taylor visited Norway in 1889, this did not lead to a Norwegian branch, but to the establishment of an associated mission, the Kina-misjonsforbund.¹⁰⁷ That turned out to be a far-reaching decision. In 1888 Hudson Taylor had agreed to the establishment of a North American branch, but for non-English speaking countries he chose the form of associated missions, which made them more independent and gave them a smaller share in common responsibility.¹⁰⁸ After a period of adjustment, these associated missions always received an area of their own in China within the overall structure of the CIM.¹⁰⁹ This pattern of associated missions came to an end, much to the dismay of some of them, when in 1950 the CIM decided to continue, opening work in several countries of East Asia, but to shed all the associated missions.¹¹⁰ After 1950 no more associated missions were founded, their place was filled in some way by the "National Mission Fellowships" like Schweizerische Missionsgemeinschaft (SMG) und Deutsche Missionsgemeinschaft (DMG), which do not have a mission field of their own but send missionaries of their country into international missions.¹¹¹

Fredrik Franson followed the same pattern. When he started the first missions in Europe, he could not create branches of an American mission, because he had not founded the Scandinavian Alliance Mission [TEAM] yet.

¹⁰⁷ Today Norsk Luthersk Misjonssamband. Oline Halvorson played an important role in this process (*Norsk Misjonsleksikon* Vol. III, 227f, Stavanger 1967).

¹⁰⁸ A German CIM branch was started in 1899, which soon developed into the associated Liebenzell Mission (Andreas Franz, Hudson Taylor und die deutschsprachigen Glaubensmissionen, PhD ETF Leuven, 1991, 179ff, *published as: Andreas Franz, *Mission ohne Grenzen. Hudson Taylor und die deutschsprachigen Glaubensmissionen*, Gießen/Basel: Brunnen, 1993), which also worked elsewhere.

¹⁰⁹ For all the associated missions see: Marshall Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission*, London 1915, 210-212.

¹¹⁰ CIM - To the Associate Missions 28.12.1950. This did not apply to the Swiss Chrischona Mission, which, despite its "associated" name, was the regular Swiss branch of the CIM (Andreas Franz, *Hudson Taylor und die deutschsprachigen Glaubensmissionen*, 128).

¹¹¹ Their role is discussed in the final section of: Andreas Franz, *Hudson Taylor und die deutschsprachigen Glaubensmissionen* (249-253).

The missions he founded he associated closely to the CIM. When the ScAM from 1892 onwards worked in South Africa, members of the Scandinavian revival and mission movements which Franson had influenced so deeply, joined the ScAM (Svenska Alliansmissionen),¹¹² Helgelseförbundet,¹¹³ Norsk Misjonsförbundet.¹¹⁴ All these groups received after some time their own South African mission fields.

Interesting, though without achieving the intended results, were Alma Doering's attempts to establish European branches of the Congo Inland Mission. When the Defenseless Mennonites (today Evangelical Mennonite Conference) and the Central Conference Mennonites had decided to begin the work of the CoIM, they had the money, but no Mennonite missionaries.¹¹⁵ So they agreed to Alma Doering's proposal, that she try to find missionaries in Europe.¹¹⁶ Until 1915 she found 11 missionary candidates from Great Britain, Holland, Germany, Norway and Sweden, financial

¹¹² N.N., *Swedish Alliance Mission e South Africa 1901 - 1951*, Piet Retief 1951. K.A. Hjelm was the first missionary of the Svenska Alliansmissionen and first worked for the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of America. In 1909 Hjelm informed the missionary conference that the Swedish Scandinavian Alliance Mission would now work independently, but keeping the old name [which was changed to Svenska Alliansmissionen in 1913 (Swedish Alliance Mission e South Africa 1901-1951, 167)] (Dawson, *History* 155).

¹¹³ Anna Matson was the first missionary (Dawson, *History* 79). Cf.: *Zulumissionären. Skildringar från Helgelseförbundets Missionsfält i Sydöstra Afrika*, Götabro 1916.

¹¹⁴ The first missionary was Knut Salvesen (Dawson, *History* 79).

¹¹⁵ Melvin J. Loewen, *Three Score. The Story of an Emerging Mennonite Church in Central Africa*, Elkhart 1972, 39. Alma Doering was and remained a Lutheran. The first Congo Inland Mission missionaries, Lawrence und Rose (Boehning) Haigh were Baptists, who had joined a Mennonite congregation. *That Alma Doering remained a *practicing* Lutheran seems to be doubtful.

¹¹⁶ James C. Juhnke, *A People of Mission. A History of General Conference Mennonite Overseas Missions*, Newton, Kansas 1979.

support included.¹¹⁷ A German branch of the CoIM was started,¹¹⁸ and Elisabeth Schlansky, Alma Doering's colleague, published in her home town Brieg in Silesia a booklet¹¹⁹ promising independence to the nascent German branch.¹²⁰ The war prevented three of the 11 candidates from going, 8 reached Zaire, but none of them would feel at home in the CoIM,¹²¹ so that after 1925 the CoIM became a purely American mission.¹²² That gave birth to two new missions: Oskar Anderson¹²³ began the Svenska Baptist Mission

¹¹⁷ To gain support she published: Alma Doering, *Röster från Kongo*, Stockholm nd. For her visit to the conference of the Holiness Baptists at Örebro see: Alma Doering, "The Winning Side" in: *The Christian Evangel* Dec. 1914, 443-445; 480. For her activities in Europe in general see the chapter: "Missionary Interest in Europe" in: Alma E. Doering, *Leopard Spots or God's Masterpiece. Which? An attempt to answer after 18 years of missionary service among races of three colors, white, black and copper*, Cleveland Ohio nd [1914].

¹¹⁸ Doering, *Leopard Spots* 161-165.

¹¹⁹ Elisabeth Schlansky, Alma Doering, *Die Kongo-Inland Mission*, Brieg nd [1915]).

¹²⁰ James C. Juhnke, *A People of Mission* 69.

¹²¹ Lists of missionaries can be found in: C.E. Rediger (ed), *25 Years of Mission Work in Belgian Congo*, Chicago 1938, 87f; Loewen, *Three Score*, 160-176. Brief information on the most important actors in the drama can be found in the extraordinary little handbook: Cecilia Irvine, *The Church of Christ in Zaire* 67, 70, 104f, 125.

¹²² Two missionaries (Tolfson und Edghard) joined the neighbouring Presbyterian mission (Rediger, *25 Years* 87). Frederick Johnstone joined the Congo Evangelistic Mission, founded by Burton in 1915.

¹²³ He had received his call through a talk by Ebonne Sjöblom, the widow of E.V. Sjöblom, who was one of the first to publish the "Congo atrocities" [240ff]. For Anderson's time with the CoIM see: Diary of Oskar Anderson, August 14, 1914 through Nov. 4, 1916. Typewritten from an original copy by Helen Neufeld Coon (for his separation from CoIM see esp. 15.10 - 4.11.1916). See also by his wife Sarah (Kroeker), originally of CoIM: *The Congo Missionary Messenger* July/Aug. 1953, 14-21.

in Zaire, Henning and Elsa Karlson (Lundberg)¹²⁴ began the Mission Baptiste Suedoise of the Örebro Missionsförening in Congo.

An important early exception from the rule to start associated missions in Non-English speaking countries was the Danish SUM branch.¹²⁵ With the help of Ernst Lohmann, head of the Orientmission, Kumm also worked to establish a German branch.¹²⁶ Lohmann had a tract printed and some Germans applied to go to Adamaua,¹²⁷ but then the war stopped them.

Eventually the work in Adamaua was started by the Norwegian branch, whose beginnings date back to 1917.¹²⁸ As the Danish SUM friends had done, so the Norwegians tried first of all to get their classical mission, the Norske Missionselskap (NMS),¹²⁹ to start work in the Sudan Belt. As they failed to achieve this, a Norwegian mission for the Sudan was begun, and after some time the NMS became willing to enter into a kind of union with the new mission.¹³⁰ The Norwegian branch of the SUM started work in Ngaoundere in North Cameroon in 1925,¹³¹ in 1927 it was almost fully integrated into the NMS,¹³² though the NMS accepted full responsibility

¹²⁴ Cf. Elsa Karlson, *Med Gud i Kongo. Personliga minnen och upplevelser*, Örebro 1956; Alma Doering, "The Winning Side" in: *The Christian Evangel*, Dec. 1914, 445 for her calling.

¹²⁵ Min. SUM 5.6.1912. Kumm would have preferred a Danish auxiliary (Kumm - Sir [Pedersen] 21.3.1911 "I think the auxiliary idea is the better. It simplifies the work as control is self-centred.") The SUM-DK would then name two SUM directors of about 16.

¹²⁶ Min. SUM 17.7.1912; 11.9.1912.

¹²⁷ Min. SUM 8.1.1913.

¹²⁸ Fredrik Müller, director of the Norsk Indre Misjon (*Norsk Misjonsleksikon* III, Stavanger 1967).

¹²⁹ For its history see the four volume *Det Norske Missionselskaps Historie*, Stavanger 1943-1949.

¹³⁰ *Norsk Missionstidende* 1921, 234f.

¹³¹ Report of First Field Council 8.7.1925.

¹³² "Den Nye Mission i Kamerun" in: *Det Norske Missionselskaps Aarbok* 1927, Stavanger 1928, 75. It is emphasized, that the work in Cameroon is not a new

only in 1939.¹³³ Today, the NMS is still counted as one of the 10 SUM branches. No other Continental branches were started before 1938, though some attempts can be reported. In 1936, there were plans for Dr Pi  re de Benoit,¹³⁴ director of the first Swiss Bible school,¹³⁵ to start a Swiss SIM auxiliary.¹³⁶ In 1934 there had been plans to establish a Hungarian branch under Rev. Zulauf, Budapest.¹³⁷

The process of internationalization did not take place in all the big faith missions at the same speed. TEAM was pretty slow,¹³⁸ a Canadian office was only opened in 1946.¹³⁹ Even slower was the CMA. Their first foreign branch was in the Netherlands (CAMA-Zending).¹⁴⁰ Gospel Missionary Union just has a Canadian office, though support from there is much older. The World Gospel Mission established a Canadian branch in 1982.¹⁴¹ In Britain some of the missions (mostly smaller ones) did not go international like Angola

mission, but one joined to the NMS. But the Cameroon mission retained its own structures.

¹³³ *The SUM 75th Jubilee 1904-1979*, Sidcup 1979, 20.

¹³⁴ Ren   Pache, *Pierre de Benoit 1884-1963. Notice biographique*, Vennes 1965.

¹³⁵ Institut Emma  s in Vennes near Lausanne, now in St. Leger.

¹³⁶ Min. SUM 1936/VIII-4.

¹³⁷ Zulauf was head of a house for deaconesses (Ziemendorf - Zulauf 20.11.1934).

¹³⁸ From 1901 till 1909 there was something like a Scandinavian branch of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America. Because of the loose organizational structure of the early ScAM one should perhaps better speak of an associated mission. In TEAM historiography (not highly developed) the "Scandinavian branch" is not mentioned.

¹³⁹ Vernon Mortensen, *The Organizational Nature of TEAM*, nd, 4. The immediate reason for establishing a Canadian office were the World War II currency restrictions. As Chicago was so close to Canada, there had been otherwise little felt need for a Canadian branch.

¹⁴⁰ The official name is Stichting Alliance Zendingencentrum Parousia (1955). See: E. van Vollenhoven, *Enkele grepen uit de vroege geschiedenis [1937-1953] van het CAMA-Werk in Ned. Oost-Indi  * in: *De Pionier* May 1986, 7f, 14. *For details see: Klaus Fiedler, *Ganz auf Vertrauen*, 293.

¹⁴¹ ¹³NAPMO 502.

Evangelical Mission, Southern Morocco Mission and Central Morocco Mission.

Since Germany and the larger section of Switzerland use the same language, a mission started in one of the two countries tended to develop a branch in the other one, and after 1933 there was usually a split of some kind due to the political developments in Germany.

The faith missions experienced an internationalization far wider and far more permanent than the classical missions. This is understandable as they were not tied to any (usually national) churches. The other reason is that the faith missions were brought into existence at the crest of revival movements that were themselves intensely international. These movements, like the Holiness Movement, usually did not split off from the churches they infiltrated, but they tended to claim the primary spiritual allegiance of those they influenced. Thus, a Swedish member of the Helgelseförbundet might feel much more akin in spirit with Alma Doering, herself strongly influenced by the Holiness Movement, than with the bishops of the Lutheran Church of Sweden, which had baptized him and which he never left. This led many people to attend (holiness influenced) training institutions in Britain. Since these schools were bound to no church or mission (in this they differed from the classical mission seminaries) and financed themselves,¹⁴² they could accept students from everywhere.¹⁴³ Others applied to international British missions as they would anyhow not be acceptable for the missions of their own church, maybe due to their lack of education or because they were women and wanted to evangelize and could not provide a male missionary candidate having promised marriage

¹⁴² This does not mean that the fees, which the students or their friends paid, were sufficient. What was lacking the school had to cover from free gifts from its circle of friends and supporters. But by choosing an interdenominational school students kept their freedom to join the mission of their choice.

¹⁴³ The first ELTI student was Joshua Chowriappah from India, among his fellow students the same year were two Frenchmen, a Syrian and a Russian (Grattan Guinness, "The East-End Training Institute for Home and Foreign Missions" in: *The Illustrated Missionary News* 1874, 96, 108, 120, 131 [108]). Ruben Saillens of France and Karl Kumm of Germany (later UK) were also trained at ELTI.

to them.¹⁴⁴ A cultural factor contributing strongly to the internationalization process was the English language, which was, and still is, *the* evangelical language worldwide.¹⁴⁵ But besides all cultural and spiritual factors, the process of internationalization relied, as so much else in the development of the faith missions, on personal relationships.

With the growing internationalization thought had to be given to the establishment of representative international structures. Usually none were created until after 1950, and the original home base (usually in Britain or America) was accorded seniority. Karl Kumm did call an international meeting of the SUM (1912), but he himself had to represent all Non-British branches except one.¹⁴⁶ Sometimes there were quite some tensions between British and American branches, but "amicable splits" to resolve these did not occur until more recently.¹⁴⁷

After 1950, the process of internationalization went two ways: Some faith missions became more national, sometimes because associated missions usually develop this tendency, but more often because theological tensions developed between the American and the British branch, with the American branch usually demanding a more detailed doctrinal statement.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ In Germany for example (later even with faith missions like Liebenzell) women had little chance ever to reach the mission field and to be trained for it, unless they were willing to work as medical or educational missionaries or had someone to marry them.

¹⁴⁵ *In Malawi many educated Christians read their Bible in English, and quite some prefer English worship services to services in their own vernacular. For the Charismatic Movement English is the primary language in worship, reflecting also the middle and upper class background of the movement.

¹⁴⁶ Min. SUM First International Conference, Swanwick.

¹⁴⁷ There was indeed a British/American split in WEC 1926, but that should not be seen primarily as being due to problems of nationality, but as part of the tensions which built up to the split between WEC and UFM in 1931. Dietrich Kuhl - Fiedler 12.5.1988 agrees with this interpretation.

¹⁴⁸ Examples are RBMU (Int. Geoffrey Larcombe 5.10.1985), Gospel Recordings and UFM. Usually some of the remaining branches opted for the British, some for the

Until 1950 international, even for the faith missions, meant little more than English (Britain, America, Commonwealth) plus some sprinkles from what Britains in those days used to call "the continent." After 1950, quite a number of strong branches were established on the continent, especially in Switzerland, the Netherlands, Germany and France.¹⁴⁹

Employing Neglected Forces: Faith Missions' Social Geography

William Carey, the first of the classical missionaries, had made it clear, that "means" had to be used to convert the heathen.¹⁵⁰ This had been done successfully, but since so many heathen remained unreached, obviously, that was not sufficient. So the early faith mission leaders insisted that the unreached must not be reached by means, but by *all* means. Hudson Taylor saw this as a justification for starting a new mission "without interfering injuriously with any existing work."¹⁵¹

After experiencing physical healing in 1881, A.B. Simpson paced up and down at the beach of the Old Orchard Convention Ground entreating God, "to raise up a great missionary movement that would reach the neglected

American variety. This meant that both new missions remained international to some extent.

¹⁴⁹ Bernd Schirrmacher, *Baumeister ist der Herr. Erfahrungen göttlicher Kleinarbeit in einem Missionswerk*, Neuhausen 1978 tells the story.

¹⁵⁰ *William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligation to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen*, Leicester: Ann Ireland, 1792. The "means" he proposed was the missionary society as a voluntary agency.

¹⁵¹ "Months of earnest prayers and not a few abortive efforts had resulted in a deep conviction that a special agency was essential for the evangelization of Inland China ... The grave difficulty of possibly interfering with existing missionary operations at home was foreseen; but it was concluded that, by simple trust in God, a suitable agency might be raised up and sustained without interfering injuriously with any existing work. I had also a growing conviction that God would have me to seek from Him the needed workers, and to go forth with them. But for a long time, unbelief hindered my taking the first step" (Hudson Taylor, *Retrospect*, London, 181974, 112).

fields of the world and utilize the neglected forces of the church at home, as was not then being done."¹⁵²

This vision was taken seriously by the early faith missions. Hudson Taylor decided that men and women from all walks of life would be acceptable as missionaries. Not intellectual ability (which he never despised), but spiritual power was decisive for a missionary, and what training she or he would need, would be provided on the mission field "by roughing it" and by senior missionaries.

With Fredrik Franson the training of missionaries lasted usually two weeks. None of the seven original missionaries of the Egypt General Mission felt that he needed any training, and neither Lilius Trotter nor her early coworkers¹⁵³ had any. Looking back, she wrote: "None of us fit to pass a doctor for any society, not knowing a soul in the place, or a sentence of Arabic, or a clue for beginning a work on untouched ground: we only knew we had to come. Truly, if God needed weakness, He had it."¹⁵⁴

As Taylor's 1866 advice to the Guinness to remain in Britain and "to train me the men and women"¹⁵⁵ shows, Hudson Taylor did not despise training either: But from attending a training institute like ELTI no one was to be barred: Money was not to play a role, nationality neither, and if someone lacked previous education, ways would be found to get him that. The length of stay depended not on the academic contents of the training, but on the needs of the mission field.¹⁵⁶ If someone lacked formal education, that was not the biggest problem, but if someone failed in street preaching, personal

¹⁵² Samuel Stoesz, CMA Centennial Project (unpublished preparatory material for Niklaus/Sawin/Stoesz, *All for Jesus*) 1, 222.

¹⁵³ Blanche Haworth, Katie Stuart, Lucy Lewis-Pigott.

¹⁵⁴ Francis R. Steele, *Not in Vain. The Story of North Africa Mission*, Pasadena 1981, 123.

¹⁵⁵ Michele Guinness, *The Guinness Legend* 86.

¹⁵⁶ Already in 1885 the training was extended to last three years, but students could also opt for a one year's stay (WWW 1885,270).

evangelism or practical outreach, that would put his stay at the institute and his intended missionary career in jeopardy.¹⁵⁷

It is true that most of the early faith missionaries came from the "neglected forces of Christianity." Most of them would not have been acceptable for the classical missions: Hudson Taylor, Héli Chatelin, Peter Cameroon Scott and C.T. Studd¹⁵⁸ (to name just a few) would never have passed the required medical tests, very many had not had the necessary education. This meant that the majority of the faith missionaries came from the lower strata of society: craftsmen, farmers or farm workers, shop assistants, clerical officers etc. A typical example is Cuthbert Nairn, the founder of the Southern Morocco Mission, who came from a Scottish sheep farm.¹⁵⁹ Equally typical was Tommie Titcombe, the SIM pioneer missionary among the Yagba, who had been trained as a moulder for the Canadian Great Western Railway,¹⁶⁰ and Albert Victor Willcox, a draughtsman, one of the early QIM missionaries.¹⁶¹

Not many missionaries came from the *very* low social classes. One from there was Malla Moe, an American farm worker, who became one of the most efficient evangelists and by far the most famous missionary of the

¹⁵⁷ The following quotation is typical for many early Bible schools: "During the coming winter, several new stations are to be opened, which will be connected with the college work; and the students will be engaged in these several evenings in each week, under the care of Rev. Robert Roden, and with the view not only of useful work, but also of practical training in conducting meetings, in exhortation, and in leading souls to accept Christ. The work will include also systematic visitation in the destitute fields of the city. This may be made an invaluable part of the course" (WWW 1885,270).

¹⁵⁸ He would not even have passed the medical test of the AIM in 1912. In the application form he named Jesus Christ as his doctor (Application form in the archives of AIM-GB).

¹⁵⁹ Francis R. Steele, *Not in Vain. The Story of North Africa Mission*, Pasadena 1981, 128.

¹⁶⁰ Sophie de la Haye, *Tread upon the Lion. The Story of Tommie Titcombe*, Scarborough ³1980(1974), 8.

¹⁶¹ Qua Iboe Mission Archives D 3301/MA/17 (Albert Victor Willcox application).

early Scandinavian Alliance Mission [TEAM] in South Africa.¹⁶² Bessie Fricker, the WEC pioneer missionary, who founded the Igreja Evangélica da Guiné Bissau, not only came from very poor circumstances, but also from an extremely difficult family situation.¹⁶³ Emile Rolland, founder of the Mission Rolland in Algeria, was a burnisher with Renault.¹⁶⁴

Neither the fact that most faith missionaries came from the lower strata of society nor the certainty that a faith missionary's life was a simple one, deterred a number of people from the middle class to cast in their lot with the faith missions. Quite early already there were teachers, medical doctors (like Hudson Taylor) or "properly" trained theologians, who preferred the faith missions for reasons of theology or spirituality. An important aspect of the social geography of the faith missions was the fact that a small, but influential group of their early leaders came from the upper class. Most famous became the "Cambridge Seven," who joined the CIM in 1885. Their leader C.T. Studd was rich enough, that on the 13.1.1887 he could give away 25000 £ (a sum which today would make him a millionaire),¹⁶⁵ so that he

¹⁶² For her life see: Maria Nilsen; Paul H. Sheetz, *Malla Moe*, Chicago ⁸1980(1956). For her leading position see: Dawson, *History*. When the Swaziland Post Office issued on 16.12.1992 a commemorative stamp issue for 100 years of TEAM's missionary work there, Malla Moe was honoured by a picture of her famous gospel wagon on the first day covers. -*DACB, *wiki, *www.flickr.com/photos/fylkesarchiv/albums/7215766321479.3815.

¹⁶³ For her life see: Betty Macindoe, *Going for God*, London, 1972.

¹⁶⁴ Jacques Blocher, "Les Missions Périphériques" in: René Blanc, Jacques Blocher, Etienne Kruger, *Histoire des Missions Protestantes Françaises*, Flavion 1970, 353-354 [353].

¹⁶⁵ Interesting insights into Studd's spiritual affinities can be gleaned from how he distributed his money: He gave £ 5000 to Moody, asking him to start mission work in India where his father had earned the money. But Moody spent the money on partially paying for the establishment of a school for missionaries, later to become known as Moody Bible Institute. £ 4000 he gave to George Müller for his missionary society, the Scriptural Knowledge Institution, and £ 1000 for his orphanages. £ 5000 went to George Holland in Whitechapel for his activities among the London poor, £ 5000 to Booth-Tucker to establish the Salvation Army in India. £ 1000 each he gave to Annie McPherson (Home of Industry, London), to Ellen Smyly in Dublin, to

could live by faith as any other CIM missionary.¹⁶⁶ Grattan Guinness came from a less wealthy branch of the Guinness clan, so when he turned 21, he was only able to give the £400 away, which he had inherited from Arthur Guinness, the brewer.¹⁶⁷ A.B. Simpson was a well to do Presbyterian pastor, incumbent of one of the wealthiest churches.¹⁶⁸ Lilius Trotter, foundress of the Algiers Mission Band, had enough money to devote herself only to her artistic talents,¹⁶⁹ and Joseph Booth could start the Nyassa Industrial Mission primarily by selling what he owned.¹⁷⁰ The German Sudan-Pionier-

General Booth (Salvation Army), to Rev. Archibald Brown, Pastor of the independent East London Tabernacle (and director of its social programmes) and to Dr. Barnardo for his work among destitute children (Grubb, *Karl T. Studd* 22f). All recipients were strongly evangelistic with a strong sense of social responsibility. See also: Eileen Vincent, C.T. Studd and Priscilla, Bromley/Gerrards Cross/Eastbourne 1988, 75-79. Afterwards he gave a few thousand £ to the CIM.

¹⁶⁶ The remaining £ 3400 Priscilla und C.T. Studd gave to the Salvation Army (from which Priscilla came) on their wedding day (Norman Grubb, *Karl T. Studd, Frontkämpfer Gottes*, Gießen 1969, 22f). How the children experienced this life of faith is brought out in: Edith Buxton [née Studd], *Reluctant Missionary*, London 1969. But also see her later booklet: *Reluctant No Longer. Address given by Mrs. Buxton at a luncheon to mark the publication of the paperback edition of Reluctant Missionary, at the Westminster Theater*, London ²1974(1973).

¹⁶⁷ He gave the money to his mother Jane Lucretia (née d'Esterre), so that she could live in some style, and continued to elicit temperance pledges from the people who crowded to hear him preach in Cheltenham (Michele Guinness, *The Guinness Legend* 57).

¹⁶⁸ When he left 13th Street Presbyterian Church in 1881, his annual salary was 5000 \$ (Niklaus/Sawin/Stoesz, *All for Jesus* 45).

¹⁶⁹ The painter Ruskin supported her and tried to convince her to devote her talents to painting (Blanche Pigott, *L. Lilius Trotter. Founder of the Algiers Mission Band*, London/ Edinburgh, nd, 9-15). For her family background see 3-6.

¹⁷⁰ *For details see: Harry Langworthy, "Africa for the African." *The Life of Joseph Booth*, Blantyre: CLAIM-Kachere, 1996, 24; more details in Klaus Fiedler, *Joseph Booth in Australasia*, Mzuzu: Luviri Press, 2016.

Mission received strong support from the nobility. In the women's committee, there was no commoner.¹⁷¹

Even better than the classical missions the faith missions managed to engage men and women from all strata of society in the world missionary effort. But the pious usually climb the social ladder upwards. So did the fellowship movements and the mission halls many of the early faith missionaries came from. After some time, the faith missions began to demand more training¹⁷² and sometimes felt obliged to turn down candidates because of their insufficient formal education, the most famous being Gladys Aylward, who then went to China as an independent missionary, earning first her one-way fare.¹⁷³

Today the faith missions require considerable training, usually several years Bible school in addition possibly to specialized training. Also, the number of those holding academic degrees is ever growing. A process seems to repeat itself: Those who are no longer qualified enough for the (old) faith missions are still acceptable to the new missions, be they evangelical like Operation Mobilization or Pentecostal like Youth With A Mission.

If the missionaries usually came from the lower strata of society (with exceptions), this is true of their supporters, too (with exceptions). Support usually did not come from well-established congregations of Established or

¹⁷¹ Baronesse von Hahn, Prinzessin Hohenlohe, Frau von Kiesewetter und Freiin von Massenbach (Min. 25.3.1915). SPM missionaries from the nobility were Gertrud von Massenbach (1883-1975) and Hedwig von Hahn. Cf. Eberhard von Dessien, Ulrich Ehrbeck, Eberhard Troeger, *Wasser auf dürres Land. 85 Jahre Sudan-Pionier-Mission/Evangelische Mission in Oberägypten*, Wiesbaden 1985, 41, 13, 23; Gertrud von Massenbach, *Als Mohrenland noch christlich war*, Wiesbaden 1930; *Mohrenland wird seine Hände ausstrecken zu Gott*, Wiesbaden 1952; Margarete Unruh, *Hedwig von Hahn*, Wiesbaden 1939.

¹⁷² This issue is discussed in detail in: Jacob Klassen, "A.B. Simpson and the Tensions in the Preparation of Missionaries" in: Hartzfeld/Nienkirchen, *The Birth of a Vision* 241-259. The tension becomes sometimes visible in one and the same issue of *WWW* (249).

¹⁷³ Phyllis Thompson, *A London Sparrow. The Story of Gladys Aylward - The Small Women*, London ²1972[1971], 23-30).

Free Churches, but from mission halls, Sunday schools, YMCA groups etc.¹⁷⁴ The mission halls usually consisted of recent converts from a revival, and usually these converts were working class people. They were neither part of the social establishment nor of the ecclesiastical establishment. So the faith missions in terms of their supporters as well as in terms of their missionaries definitely managed to "utilize the neglected forces of Christianity" (A.B. Simpson) to reach the unreached. But this record was not without blots. Over the years signs of saturation become visible, adaptations to "what all the others do."

Black Missionaries no Longer?

When the faith missions were born, Europe was still a white continent. Only in America there was a considerable Christian non-white minority: the descendants of the former slaves, who had been deeply touched by various revivals. So it is little wonder, that some of them wanted to become missionaries, and to some classical missions they were acceptable.¹⁷⁵ The same was true for the early faith missions.

When Fanny Guinness handed over the LIM to the American Baptist Missionary Union, one reason for this was that she hoped, though in vain, that from the many black congregations of the American Baptists missionaries for Zaire might be found. Her son Harry (in vain, too) kept up that

¹⁷⁴ The early QIM Association may serve as an example. During its first year the income was: £74/4/1, not counting the money Fanny Guinness contributed. 46 members contributed regularly (£39/4/8), there were 31 single gifts (£22/19/5) and four offerings from mission halls, two from Sunday schools (together £11/19/8). See: Qua Iboe Mission Mountpottinger Auxiliary, its origin and management [D 3301/MA/1].

¹⁷⁵ Dr. Sheppard for example, the leading Presbyterian missionary in Zaire (Luebo), was black. When travelling on the same boat in 1906, Dr. Sheppard suggested to Alma Doering to start a new mission not far from his area. After the Mennonites in 1910 had decided to start their own mission in close contact to the RBMU, Alma Doering took up his proposal at the very moment when the first group of missionaries reported from a stopover at ELTI about the crisis of the institute, now under the leadership of Harry Guinness (Loewen, *Three Score* 32f).

hope.¹⁷⁶ A.B. Simpson had already written in 1882 "Africa wants that the Africans from America come to her aid."¹⁷⁷ Héli Chatelin wanted first to go to Madagascar to find Malgache missionaries. When political circumstances made that plan falter, he turned to the USA, to win black missionaries for his intended work in Africa.¹⁷⁸

For Simpson black missionaries were more than a hope. One of the first two missionaries to Sierra Leone in 1889 was the black American James A. Trice,¹⁷⁹ who worked there until 1900.¹⁸⁰ Trice did not come from the CMA, but from it's akin fellowship movement in Kansas, the Gospel Union (soon World's Gospel Union, later Gospel Missionary Union). Around the turn of the century the CMA emphasized her activities in black communities very much.¹⁸¹ Since there was hope that the black CMA branches would produce missionary candidates, a special Bible institute was established for them, the Lovejoy Institute in Mills Spring, North Carolina.¹⁸² The first missionary from this "colored work" of the CMA was Carrie Merriweather, but she was trained in Nyack, where meantime the New York Missionary Training

¹⁷⁶ *The Christian Alliance* 1888,112.

¹⁷⁷ *WWW* 1882,100.

¹⁷⁸ Alida Chatelin, *Héli Chatelin*, 25. The only black support that he won to my knowledge was that Booker T. Washington agreed to serve on the committee of the Philafrican Liberators' League. But the committee did not last long.

¹⁷⁹ He married during his first home leave. The CMA honoured them later by depicting them with their girls' school on the cover of *Christian Alliance* 3.7.1895.

¹⁸⁰ He left the CMA in the context of a quarrel between several missionaries and their field leader Eliphalet Kingmann in 1900 (Samuel Stoesz, Centennial Project 273). In 1906 Grattan Guinness recommended Kingmann to the SUM to head their work in Nigeria (Min. SUM 4.3.1906).

¹⁸¹ 4th annual report CMA 1900-01, 131f: E.B. Nichols, Work among the colored people; 5th annual report CMA 1901-02, 11: "The work among the colored people has become one of the brightest features of the Alliance work. A number of our most successful and liberal branches are founded among these beloved friends and fellow laborers. The work is strongly established in Pittsburg, Cleveland and in various parts of the South."

¹⁸² For his story of the growing and then declining black role in the Christian and Missionary Alliance see Niklaus/Sawin/Stoesz, *All for Jesus* 165-173.

College had been moved to.¹⁸³ She worked in Sierra Leone from 1913-1917. From 1920 to 1930 eight more black missionaries followed.¹⁸⁴ The last of them, Montrose and Anna Marie Waite, left the mission, when the CMA abandoned its work in Sierra Leone and could not (or was not willing to) find another place of service for them.¹⁸⁵

The first missionary of the American branch of the SUM, Rev. John Baker, was a black Jamaican, who had been converted in Sierra Leone as a British soldier and then had gone to the States to study theology.¹⁸⁶ From 1907 to 1909 he was responsible for Ibi, the mission's supply station.¹⁸⁷ Then he left the American branch. The reasons are not quite clear, as he applied at the same time to join the British branch. The British branch refused, bowing to

¹⁸³ Her life story: Georgie B. Minter, "To Die Is Gain. An Appreciation of Carrie E. Merriweather" in: *Alliance Weekly* 25.4.1931. Lovejoy did not produce any CMA missionaries.

¹⁸⁴ Sadie E. Moore Thornley (1922-1926), Montrose A. Waite (1923-1937), Eugene M. Thornley (1923-1926), Raymond H. Wilson (1923-1934), Ella May Scott Waite (1923-1931, died of yellow fever [Cahiers de l'Institut Biblique No. 1 1932, 6]), Anita Bolden (1923-1928), Verna May Wilson (1929-1934), Anna Marie Morris Waite (1930-1937). Of these nine missionaries, six came from Cleveland and Pittsburgh, and with the exception of Anita Bolden (Guinea) all worked in Sierra Leone (Sawin - Fitts 9.5.1980; Fitts - Sawin 14.6.1980). Merriweather is often seen as the first black CMA missionary, but wrongly so.

¹⁸⁵ Anna Maria Waite was convinced that the closure of the Sierra Leone field was also to serve the purpose of getting rid of the last black missionaries (Transcript of an Interview by Robert Cowles with Anna Maria and Montrose Waite, nd, in the CMA archives).

¹⁸⁶ Lucy Kumm in *Lightbearer* 1906,192; *Lightbearer* July 1906, 124f.

¹⁸⁷ Before his arrival the British resident at Ibi had told the King of Ibi that he should receive him with all the respect due to a White man (*Lightbearer* March 1907). He reported about his visit to the king: "When I told him of the unity of the human race, and of other fundamental Biblical facts, he was delighted and told me to come again." The European missionaries were glad that he taught them how to eat cassava, a Nigerian staple diet, which he was used to from Jamaica (*Lightbearer* 1907, 64). In 1907 and 1908 the *Lightbearer* regularly reported about Baker's activities.

the intervention of Lowry Maxwell, the field director.¹⁸⁸ Kumm, at that time in Africa, regretted this, because Baker "had done a good job," and tried (in vain) to overturn the decision.¹⁸⁹

Already in 1908, the British SUM home council had discussed the status of coloured missionaries, without coming to a conclusion. In January 1913, Falconer of the American branch reported that Rev Dr Ross, a black American, highly qualified as pastor and medical doctor, had applied.¹⁹⁰ But since the American branch was not independent, their acceptance of this candidate¹⁹¹ had to be endorsed by the British committee, who turned the candidate down "because of difficulties on the Mission Field about coloured missionaries."¹⁹² The minutes do not detail the difficulties. On 12.2.1913 it was decided that Redmayne inquire from American and British SUM missionaries in Nigeria and that Kumm inquire from the CMS about their experiences with black missionaries. Using today's categories, all this was obviously devised to cement racial prejudices. The result was "that the British Committee cannot see their way to accept a coloured man for the present."¹⁹³

In 1904 the Africa Industrial Mission [SIM] received applications from a couple from Chicago "occupying a good position in that city" and from two single women from Chicago and Cleveland.¹⁹⁴ They had good recommendations, but never became missionaries of the Africa Industrial Mission.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁸ Min. SUM 10.11.1909.

¹⁸⁹ Min. SUM 15.2.1910.

¹⁹⁰ Min. SUM 8.1.1913.

¹⁹¹ Min. SUM 12.2.1913.

¹⁹² Min. SUM 8.1.1913.

¹⁹³ Min. SUM 23.4.1913.

¹⁹⁴ Min. Africa Industrial Mission 25.10.1904.

¹⁹⁵ The couple in question probably were Mr and Mrs J. Ulysis Turner: "The Council after hearing the report and favorably receiving the same consider that owing to present conditions it would not be advisable to withdraw him from his present position, but that we will be glad to take the matter up when circumstances seem to be more propitious."

In the context of the other "white" American missions, the CMA was a special case: There were more black missionaries in it than in any other mission. In spite of this, its racial policy ran the same course as it had done in the other missions a decade or two earlier. In the 1930s under Dr Shumann even the CMA decided no longer to accept "coloured" missionaries.¹⁹⁶ In doing so the CMA as the last faith mission decided to conform to the overall trend in church and society which fostered a growing apartheid.¹⁹⁷ In theory all were still equal before God, and the faith missions insisted still on the need of the "perishing millions" for missionaries, and everyone who felt called could apply to a mission, but if the person was black, she (the majority were women) or he could only apply to a black mission, and there were no black faith missions.

As black missionaries obviously were not wanted in "white" faith missions any more, Ernie Wilson,¹⁹⁸ supported by Norman P. Grubb and WEC-US, founded in Philadelphia the Afro-American Missionary Crusade¹⁹⁹ for missionary work in Liberia,²⁰⁰ "to provide a needed channel, whereby Christian young men and women of African extraction, may faithfully expend themselves, without constant frustration, in the missionary enterprise."²⁰¹ The first AAMC missionaries were Anne Maria and Montrose Waite, for whom the CMA had not been able or willing to find a job after

¹⁹⁶ Niklaus/Sawin/Stoesz, *All for Jesus* 171.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Robert Gordon, *Black Man's Burden. An Introduction to the Black Americans' Contribution to Protestant Foreign Missions* (unpublished, Billy Graham Center Archives) 5-7.

¹⁹⁸ Int. Dr. Ernie Wilson 12.4.1986.

¹⁹⁹ For important information about the composition of the Board of Directors (all Black) and of the Advisory Board (including Whites, among them Norman Grubb and A. Ruscoe of WEC) and the supporting circles (among others Carver Bible Institute) see: *The Afro American Mission News* [first issue] Spring 1948.

²⁰⁰ The first (and up to now only) mission station was Baporo (Montrose Waite - Friends 9.11.1950).

²⁰¹ The Afro American Mission News, Spring 1949.

closing its mission in Sierra Leone. They had before applied to "white" missions but were always refused.²⁰²

There is also at least one black independent mission of some importance to the faith missions. When her (black) denominational mission could no longer support Eliza George, she decided to continue her work in Liberia as an independent missionary.²⁰³ She founded what are today the Independent Churches of Africa,²⁰⁴ led by Guz Marwiah and supported by Christian Nationals Evangelism Commission [Partners International].

Around 1950, with growing missionary interest in America, the number of coloured applicants to the AIM rose. This bothered its Home Director, who first corresponded with and then held a conference with the leaders of other American faith missions.²⁰⁵ All agreed that there was no objection to black missionaries in faith missions, but they agreed, too, that the time had not yet come to accept coloured missionaries. They should be kindly directed to apply to black missions. Only W.L. Thompson of the Latin America Mission disagreed. He saw no reason to turn down an applicant who was qualified and felt called and insisted to have his views put on record.²⁰⁶

In 1955 the CMA revised its decision against black missionaries but could not find any.²⁰⁷ Only in 1979 Meysa J. Costa was sent to Burkina Faso as the first black CMA missionary of the new area. In 1957 the OMF [CIM] decided to transform itself into a fellowship of missionaries of all races and from all countries. Sooner or later all faith missions abolished racial barriers. Still the number of black missionaries is comparatively small. This can be explained partly by the fact that compared to the size of the "black" denominations in America, the number of black missionaries always was comparatively small,

²⁰² Montrose Waite - Christianity Today [nd ca. 1970].

²⁰³ Lorry Lutz, *Born to Lose. Bound to Win. The Amazing Journey of Mother Eliza George*, Irvine CA 1980.

²⁰⁴ E.L. Davis, Question of Accepting Colored Young People as Candidates for Foreign Missionary Service, nd [1951].

²⁰⁵ Min. AIM 17.1.1951.

²⁰⁶ Niklaus/Sawin/Stoesz, *All for Jesus* 291.

²⁰⁷ Sawin - Fitts 9.5.1980.

whether in white or in black missions.²⁰⁸ But there is another reason: The faith missions (and maybe others, too) have difficulties in adapting to the particular black sub-culture or the black missionaries have problems in adapting to the peculiar faith mission subculture.²⁰⁹ That this must not be so of necessity, is shown by the California based faith mission Christians in Action. It was founded "white" by Lee Shelley,²¹⁰ but already one of the early missionaries, Elgin Taylor, was black.²¹¹ Now nearly a third of the missionaries are black Americans or Britons, another third are either of Latin or Japanese descent, and Elgin Taylor is president.²¹²

²⁰⁸ For a kind of survey of black American missionaries see: Sylvia Jacobs (ed), *Black Americans and the Missionary Movement in Africa*, Westport CT/London 1982. Jacobs takes no account of black faith missionaries, though she corresponded with CMA while preparing her book. The distinction ascribed to Dr. William J. Harvey ("veteran executive of Black church missions") between black and white missions of his time that the black missions were industrial missions while the white missions were not (quoted approvingly in: S. Wilmore Gayraud, "Black Americans in Mission: Setting the Record Straight" in: *IBMR* 1986,98-102 [101]), is not based on historical facts. Around the turn of the century many white missions, classical and faith, were industrial missions or tried to be. The SIM even started off with the name Africa Industrial Mission.

²⁰⁹ This interpretation is supported by several answers to my enquiries about the participation of coloured missionaries. The answer often was: We have a few, but they often do not return to the field after their first term.

²¹⁰ Around 1940 Lee Shelley had attended a CMA Bible school, then worked for about 10 years as a missionary of the "Soul Clinic" and became Vice President. He left the mission because the President divorced his wife and remarried (Int. James Marquardt 6.3.1987). He then founded the Missionary and Soul Winning Fellowship, which later took its name from a local radio programme called "Action Night."

²¹¹ He was to go to Nigeria, but because of the Biafra war went to Britain. He established a church there (Christians in Action Evangelical Church Croydon) and a one-year missionary training school, which produced 30 missionaries (Int. Elgin Taylor 6.3.1986).

²¹² Int. Phil Blankenship, Vice President Christians in Action, 6.3.1987.

What made Christians in Action so successful in utilizing the neglected (coloured) forces of Christianity? The explanation may be found in that it was a new mission, using methods unorthodox for "old" faith missions (like house to house visitations or creating a home base through evangelism). New missions tend to appeal to the underprivileged in the ecclesiastical establishment. Will the faith missions meet the challenge to utilize the neglected coloured forces of Christianity or will that be done by "ever new missions"?

The Worldwide Challenge

When the faith missions came into existence, they managed indeed to utilize "neglected forces of Christianity." Meanwhile a century has passed, missionary work has been successful, and the majority of Christians no longer live in the West. If God indeed does not mind what culture men belong to, there should be plenty of candidates for foreign missions among these now "reached" millions, be it in Asia, Africa or Latin America. Will the faith missions rise to this challenge and use these tremendous "neglected forces" as well?²¹³

Many faith missions have little chance to do this, because they have remained or become national missions. But it seems that most of the big international missions are rising to this worldwide challenge. Prominent among them is WEC International. WEC missionaries in Taiwan conceived the idea of establishing Non-Western WEC home bases, but the first Non-Western home base was established in Brazil. In 1971 the first Brazilian joined WEC, in 1978 WEC-Brazil became an independent sending base. Today [1987] WEC has 25 Brazilian members, seven of them work in Africa; due to the linguistic advantage, most of them in Guinea Bissau.

In East Asia WEC also tries to establish an independent sending base, possibly in Singapore.²¹⁴ Until this process is finished, the Australian branch,

²¹³ Up to 1950 there were in the faith missions hardly any missionaries from Non-Western countries.

²¹⁴ WEC activities in Singapore were started by Ruth and Maurice Charman. Head of the Singapore Council is now Rev. David Leah, pastor of the Tabernacle Church. Full independence of the Singapore Council is expected for 1995 (Dietrich Kuhl -

at whose Missionary Training College in St. Leonard's, Tasmania, many of them studied,²¹⁵ usually sends out missionaries from the Asian countries.²¹⁶ In order to challenge Non-Western Christians for worldwide missions, WEC missionaries publish in various languages a magazine called LOOK.²¹⁷

In Indonesia they fostered a different development. Heini and Agnes German, a Swiss couple, started with conventional missionary work in unreached areas of West Kalimantan. The whole concept changed when WEC decided to start a Bible school in Batu in 1959 and to evangelize from there, which then also became the center of the Indonesian Missionary Fellowship (IMF) founded by Petrus Oktavianus, one of the leaders of the Indonesian Revival, in 1961. A peculiarity of this mission is that the WEC missionaries working in Indonesia become full members. The IMF missionaries work mostly in Indonesia, but some also outside, sometimes in close cooperation with WEC.²¹⁸

New Tribes Mission followed in Brazil a pattern similar to that of WEC in Indonesia. But there is a difference: American NTM missionaries not only cooperate in the Brazilian NTM, but also share in its leadership.

A country with an increasing share in worldwide missions is South Korea.²¹⁹ There are associated missions, there is also a Korean Missionary Fellowship for sending missionaries into Non-Korean missions (Korean Partnership

Fiedler 19.5.1988). - *By now WEC has moved its international headquarters to Singapore. - *www.wec-sing.org. *www.wecinternational.org

²¹⁵ For its history see: Stewart R. Dinnen, *When I Say Move*, Ft. Washington/Pennant Hills/Auckland [CLC] nd. At present about one third of the students are Asians (Dietrich Kuhl - Fiedler 19.5.1988).

²¹⁶ Nan Pin and Eleonore Chee (Malaysia/New Zealand) established a WEC branch in Hong Kong, with 8 missionaries (Dietrich Kuhl - Fiedler 19.5.1988).

²¹⁷ Dietrich Kuhl, "Prinzipien der theologischen Ausbildung am Institut Injil Indonesia in Batu (Indonesien)" in: *Jahrbuch Evangelische Mission*, 1985, 83-93.

²¹⁸ For an interview with one of them who works with WEC in Gambia, see: Veronika Elbers, "Dritte Welt Missionare - Ein Interview mit Lotje Pelealu, Indonesische Missionsgemeinschaft" in: *Evangelikale Missiologie*, 1992, 47f.

²¹⁹ Jin-Kuk Ju, "Die evangelikale koreanische Missionsbewegung" in: *Evangelikale Missiologie* 1/1988, 11-12.

Mission Fellowship [1988]) and the number of Korean missionaries in the big faith missions is growing fast. SIM has more than 50 Asian missionaries (majority Koreans), with their own sending base in Singapore. One of the couples who teach at the Missionary Training College in Eldoret/Kenya, are from Korea.²²⁰

Worldwide Sharing in Evangelism, Money Included?

If race was a barrier to employing the neglected forces of Christianity for world mission, that has been largely overcome by now. Another barrier, possibly more difficult to overcome, is finance. Among the Southern half of Christianity definitely many are called for missionary work, be it far away or in their own country (which often consists of very different peoples and cultures), but the churches to support them are often very poor because the country is very poor. With the growing wealth of East Asia, it is comparatively easy to support foreign missionaries. But India presents already a different picture, not to mention Zaire where a pastor is well paid if he receives 20\$ a month. The faith missions between the wars usually followed the Indigenous Church Principle which meant for them: White money only for Whites, the indigenous church has to support its own workers. This rule has been modified in quite some cases, often with a bad conscience, for example by ruling that the mission may not support "nationals," but the individual missionary may. In other cases, money was not paid for the work of individuals, but into the general church fund. Very often money was paid for material investments like buildings, or to pay "nationals" for "secular" work in the mission like medical work or school work. But to pay nationals for "spiritual" work the faith missions were and are reluctant.

A conscious effort to overcome this racial and social barrier was initiated in China in the 1940s. In the 1930s the situation in China on one hand made the deployment of Western missionaries increasingly difficult because of political unrest and growing nationalism, on the other hand there was an increasing number of well trained and highly motivated Chinese Christians,

²²⁰ Int. Jin Ju 14.12.1986.—*A far reaching initiative is the "Back to Jerusalem Movement" from China (www.backtojerusalem.com).

who often lacked the means for their support. A Washington state businessman, Dr N.A. Jepson, became convinced that a more effective evangelization of China could only be achieved by greatly adding to the number of Chinese evangelists.²²¹ In those years of the unquestioned rule of the Indigenous Church Principle he found little support for his vision among the American missionaries.²²²

But in 1943 he met Duncan McRoberts of the CIM, who had a similar vision and suggested the young evangelist Calvin Chao as the leader of the Chinese side of the "China Native Evangelistic Crusade."²²³ Chao could leave his small congregation and was able to use his organizational skills. Until 1949 he organized 13 evangelistic "preaching bands" in five Chinese provinces and two Bible schools for training evangelists.²²⁴ In 1951, when financial assistance to the preaching bands became impossible in Communist China, CNEC moved its activities to Hongkong and worked among the Chinese in South East Asia. Over the years the vision was widened, and, following the usual faith mission pattern, the abbreviation was kept and the name changed: Christian Nationals Evangelism Commission.²²⁵ Later, the name was changed to Partners International.²²⁶

²²¹ Allen Finley; Lorry Lutz, *The Family Tie*, Nashville/Camden/New York 1983(1981), 103.

²²² He did find support with the Native Preacher Company, an American mission (1924) which supported national preachers directly through missionaries. But Jepson felt that this policy would create dependency. - The Native Preacher Company still existed in 1979, reporting to MARC an annual income of 4000 \$.

²²³ Finley/Lutz, *The Family Tie* 105ff.

²²⁴ Finley/Lutz, *The Family Tie* 106ff.

²²⁵ There is no CNEC history yet. Much information can be found in: Allen Finley; Lorry Lutz, *The Family Tie. An Exiting Approach that could Revolutionize World Missions*, Nashville/ Camden/New York 1983(1981). Also published as: *Mission: A World-Family Affair. Sharing Resources in the Church around the World*, San Jose nd.

²²⁶ Partners International today (1993) assists indigenous workers in 50 countries (CNEC - Fiedler 4.1.1993).

The lasting contribution of CNEC to evangelical missiology was a conscious effort to overcome the narrowness and the racial prejudices that went with the Indigenous Church Principle.²²⁷ CNEC conceived all Christians as a unity, in whatever country they worked and lived.²²⁸ In establishing the CNEC Jepsen took up one of Karl Gützlaff's principles: To evangelize China by Chinese. There were two differences, though: This time there were many well qualified Chinese evangelists available, and the CNEC cared to establish a way to have accountability with the evangelists without making them dependent.²²⁹ During the past years the British, Canadian and Australian branches of CNEC/Partners International have experienced considerable growth.²³⁰ To develop a theology of worldwide sharing in reaching the unreached (and utilizing the neglected forces for that) is overdue, also due to the simple fact that with growing Western wealth even faith missionaries become pretty expensive.²³¹

²²⁷ "Because of this attitude many missions yielded to the pressures of pride of race and culture and refused to support or to share the supplies available from the main part of the body with the 'natives who could not be trusted.' To justify this, the vague principles of 'self-supporting, self-propagating' were put forth as the biblical norm, while the clear biblical principle of 'sharing with our brothers in need' was often violated" (Finley/Lutz, *The Family Tie* 54).

²²⁸ Allen Finley; Lorry Lutz, *Is Supporting Nationals Biblical?*, San Jose, nd.

²²⁹ Rather than directing the work in other countries, CNEC develops a working agreement with the supervising body of each ministry, usually a board of directors. These boards are made up of indigenous Christian leaders who are informed about the ministry and are responsible for it. The national missionaries are accountable to their board of directors. Each board of directors, assisted by the key staff members of their ministry, reports back to CNEC on the progress of the work and the use of funds.

²³⁰ For an expanded view of the CNEC concepts, see: Luis Bush and Lorry Lutz, *Partnering in Ministry*, Downers Grove, 1990.

²³¹ An IFMA study computed the direct costs of a North American (Evangelical) missionary in 1990 as \$29,526 per year and indirect costs as \$43,000 (MARC Newsletter, 93-3).

Employing Neglected Forces: The Bible Schools

The emphasis of the faith missions to employ the neglected forces of Christianity created an institution, which eventually influenced not only the faith missions strongly, but all of evangelical Christianity: the Bibel school.²³² The name is not historical, therefore misleading. They were not created as schools competing with others like seminaries or universities for the training of pastors, but they were originally founded as missionary training institutes, as their early names clearly show.²³³ They were founded with a double edge: They were to provide the new (faith) missions with trained missionaries, and they were to provide missionary training for those who had no chance to receive any theological training in the existing institutions because they were not qualified and/or wealthy enough to be acceptable to them. They were uniquely for training missionaries/evangelists, both abroad and at home. And since it is difficult to draw a clear dividing line between the evangelist and the pastor, once someone's evangelistic efforts were fruitful in a given locality, the missionary training institutes got into the training of pastors for the new fellowship movements, for independent congregations, missions and mission halls, too.

For every new movement it is difficult to give the date of its birth, as there are almost always forerunners. A.B. Simpson calls Chrischona the oldest Bibel school.²³⁴ It was started in 1840 by Christian Friedrich Spittler. The first student was a carpenter from Ravensburg, Joseph Mohr, who had left the Basel Mission Seminary because he had realized, "that his gifts lay else-

²³² *See Klaus Fiedler, "Aspects of the Early History of the Bible School Movement", in: *Festschrift Donald Moreland. The Secret of Faith. In Your Heart - In Your Mouth*. Marthinus W. Pretorius (ed). Heverlee/Leuven: Evangelische Theologische Fakulteit, 1992, 62-77; reprinted in Klaus Fiedler, *Conflicted Power in Malawian Christianity. Essays Missionary and Evangelical from Malawi*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2015, 245-259.

²³³ The first "Bibel school" was the East London Training Institute for Home and Foreign Missions.

²³⁴ *WWW* 1888, 76.

where than in learning foreign languages."²³⁵ In 1859 Markus Spittler visited England,²³⁶ and it is imaginable that he exerted some influence there. But I could not find any sources to support this idea.²³⁷ Another school which is sometimes seen as an early Bible school is Spurgeon's Pastors' College, which he founded as a private initiative in 1856²³⁸ and which in 1861 became the responsibility of his Tabernacle congregation. But its aim was to train pastors, and there were no women students.²³⁹ One of the most prominent students of Spurgeon's College was Archibald Geikie Brown, who was pastor of the originally Baptist, then independent Baptist East London

²³⁵ Erich Schick; Klaus Haag, *Christian Friedrich Spittler. Handlanger Gottes*, Gießen/Basel ²1982, 49.

²³⁶ A.J. Broomhall, *If I had A Thousand Lives*, Sevenoaks/London 1982, 394.

²³⁷ This is obviously supported by Grattan and Fanny Guinness' report on their first visit to St. Chrischona in 1883: "Last summer we paid a brief visit to the Pilgrim Mission House of St. Chrischona ... an Institution somewhat of the same nature as our own, save that it contemplates home mission work more than foreign ... We felt much sympathy with Mr. Rappard and his admirable wife ... We commend this simple primitive evangelical school of the prophets to the warm sympathies of our readers" (*The Regions Beyond* 1884,101).

²³⁸ In 1855 Spurgeon had accepted T.W. Medhurst as the first student, the second student was accepted in 1857, George Roger's principalship is reckoned from 1856 (Cf. C.H. Spurgeon's *Autobiography: Compiled from his Diary, Letters and Records by his Wife and his Private Secretary*, London 1899, vol. II, 145; 148).

²³⁹ There were very friendly relations between the two schools. Spurgeon brought his students to Harley for an athletics competition (Harry Guinness was an enthusiastic sportsman, winning even the world record for slow bicycling in the Crystal Palace on June 10th, 1881) and the Harley students were invited to a pre-Christmas dinner. Michele Guinness reports from Lucy Guinness' diary: Mr Spurgeon had stipulated that Mama should be the only female member of the Harley party, but Mama, who was not daunted by anyone, even the most famous preacher in England, took five female friends with her including her two daughters. Never in her life, Lucy claimed, had she heard such a deafening noise as the sound of all those young men eating and talking! (Michele Guinness, *The Guinness Legend* 140).

Tabernacle, of which the Guinness family were members in the 1880s.²⁴⁰ Putting the evidence in perspective, it can hardly be argued that either Spittler or Spurgeon started a Bible school, maybe their institutions were a kind of predecessors.

The East London Training Institute

The first missionary training institute or, to employ the later name, the first Bible school, was the East London Training Institute for Home and Foreign Missions, which Fanny and Grattan Guinness opened in 1873 to multiply "earnest and efficient missionaries at home and abroad."²⁴¹ That was to be done by lessons, but also on the job: "Mission work among the lapsed masses of the people; preaching in the open air, and in Mission halls and Rooms; Teaching in Schools; house to house visiting etc."²⁴² Primary emphasis was neither academic nor practical learning, but spiritual development. How effective could an evangelist be if spiritually cold? How long the course was to last depended on the needs of the mission field, as much as the amount of non-theological learning depended on actual needs. The school was financed by faith²⁴³ and was therefore independent. The ELTI attracted many students, some of whom had been converted through the Moody revival.²⁴⁴ Soon the institute was enlarged. An extension which changed its character but made it a typical Bible school was the opening of Doric Lodge, so that women, too, could be trained as evangelists for home

²⁴⁰ Members of this Tabernacle church, who became missionaries, did not join the Baptist Missionary Society, but almost exclusively faith missions (George E. Page, *A.G.B. The Story and the Life Work of Archibald Geikie Brown*, London 1944, 23f).

²⁴¹ Fanny Guinness, *Hulme Cliff College, Curbar, or, the Story of the Third Year of the East End Training Institute*, London nd.

²⁴² For a very good description of such evangelistic efforts see: M. Wargenau-Saillens, *Ruben et Jeanne Saillens. Évangélistes*, Paris 1947, 59.

²⁴³ That was easier for Grattan Guinness, but Fanny had to make ends meet, later their daughter Geraldine.

²⁴⁴ Rufus W. Clark, *The Work of God in Great Britain: Under Messrs. Moody and Sankey*, 1873 to 1875, New York 1875; John Hall und George H. Stuart, *The American Evangelists D.L. Moody and Ira Sankey In Great Britain and Ireland*, New York 1875.

and abroad.²⁴⁵ This made ELTI differ definitely from all the classical mission seminaries.

In America, too, some earlier schools may be found: Rev. S.H. Tyng's "Home of the Evangelists" for training city evangelists, or Rev. DeWitt Talmadge's "Tabernacle Lay College" (1872) or "Bethany Institute" for women in Brooklyn. But they did not last long. If these were predecessors, A.B. Simpson opened the first formal American Bibel school.²⁴⁶

Early in 1882 Simpson published in his magazine a call to open an American school patterned on the East London Training Institute.²⁴⁷ During the same year he started to train missionaries within his Tabernacle church, then just about a year old.²⁴⁸ On the 1st of October, 1883 A.B. Simpson, following the lead of the East London Training Institute (ELTI), opened the Missionary Training School for Christian Evangelists, soon to be named the New York Missionary Training College.²⁴⁹ It became the pattern for many Bibel schools in the USA and Canada, and also the pattern for the Pentecostal Bible schools.²⁵⁰ Prairie Bible Institute, Three Hills, today the most important Bibel school in Canada, was founded by L.E. Maxwell, who had received his training at the Midlands Bible School in Kansas City, which goes back directly to the New York Missionary Training College.²⁵¹

²⁴⁵ Harry Guinness, *Not Unto Us. Record of Twenty-One Years' Missionary Service*, London nd, 12.

²⁴⁶ This is also the view of Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, New Haven/London ⁹1979(1972), 812.

²⁴⁷ H.S., "Lay Missionary Colleges" in: *The Work, and the World* March 1882, 41.

²⁴⁸ Niklaus/Sawin/Stoesz, *All For Jesus* 58.

²⁴⁹ WWW 1883, 154-157; A.E. Thompson, *A.B. Simpson. His Life and Work*, Camp Hill 1960, 99.

²⁵⁰ See: L. F. Wilson, 'Bible Institutes, Colleges, Universities' in Burgess, McGee and Alexander, *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, 57-65.

²⁵¹ The school was founded by W.C. Stevens, co-worker of A.B. Simpson, who before had also taught at the New York Training Institute unterrichtete (Ted S. Rendall - Fiedler 22.9.1988).

The second interdenominational training school was opened on Grattan Guinness' direct suggestion. In 1889 he visited America,²⁵² among other things intending to find out if the American Baptist Missionary Union could be in any way helped to fulfill its promise to advance further inland into Zaire. Since the ABMU had problems in finding the required candidates, Grattan Guinness suggested to A.J. Gordon that he train them in connection with his congregation. The same year Gordon opened the Boston Missionary Training Institute.²⁵³

The most important Bibel school in the history of the faith missions is today known as Moody Bible Institute,²⁵⁴ founded in 1889.²⁵⁵ Its origin is in the "Bible Work," which Moody had asked Emma Dryer to organize as a follow up for his evangelistic efforts in 1873.²⁵⁶ Moody had even promised that, immediately after his return from Britain after six months, he would find her the necessary house. But Moody stayed more than two years in Britain and lost interest in the idea, even after he had returned. In 1883 Emma Dryer organized the first month long Bible course, to become known as the "May Institute," which then took place yearly. In 1886 Emma Dryer managed to interest Moody again in the idea,²⁵⁷ which later was felt to be a reason for dating the birth of the school back to that year.²⁵⁸ Because of the great demand, Emma Dryer had to arrange for two month-long courses

²⁵² Rev. H. Grattan Guinness in: Faithful Witness [Ed: Rowland V. Bingham] 3.8.1889 [title page with portrait].

²⁵³ For its history see: Dana L. Robert, "The Legacy of Adoniram Judson Gordon" in: *IBMR* Oct. 1987, 176-181 [179f].

²⁵⁴ For history and context see: Gene A. Getz, *Moody Bible Institute. The Story of Moody Bible Institute*, Chicago 1969. This book is based on a dissertation. It has the tendency to overemphasize Moody's role to the detriment of Emma Dryer's in founding the Institute. But see p. 40.

²⁵⁵ From 1894 till 1905 this year was seen at MBI as the year of its birth (Gene A. Getz, *Moody Bible Institute*, Chicago 1969, 34).

²⁵⁶ The best source for the pre-history of MBI is: Emma Dryer - Blanchard nd [1923].

²⁵⁷ The process is well presented in John Pollock, *Moody Without Sankey* 226-234 "Slow Birth of the Bible Institute." Pollock agrees with Emma Dryer's recollections.

²⁵⁸ Cf. Gene A. Getz, *Moody Bible Institute*, Chicago 1969, 34.

in 1888. In 1889 Moody regained interest, and bought a plot to make a residential school, partly with the £5000 C.T. Studd had entrusted him for missionary work in India. Emma Dryer organized the school as the "Bible Institute for Home and Foreign Missions of the Chicago Evangelization Society," asking Grattan Guinness to come to Chicago to advise her.²⁵⁹ The intention of the school was "not to interfere with our theological seminaries, but to supplement and complement their work by short practical courses of study, mainly confined to the English Bible,²⁶⁰ practical theology, and Christian work by direct contact with souls."²⁶¹ When Emma Dryer had organized the school, Moody made Reuben Archer Torrey its first director, who, after 1902, became the leading evangelist of his time.²⁶² For Emma Dryer there was little room left in the setup. Moody Bible Institute is today still the major faith mission Bibel school in the USA.²⁶³

In Scandinavia the connection between faith missions and Bible schools was equally close. What became Örebro Missionsskola was started around 1891 with annual evangelists' courses,²⁶⁴ in 1908 the school became permanent.²⁶⁵ Its original aim was to train women and men as evangelists

²⁵⁹ Emma Dryer - Blanchard nd [1923], 28. Gene A. Getz ignores this when he writes: "It is interesting to note that Moody Bible Institute, prior to Moody's death, was called the Bible Institute for Home and Foreign Missions of the Chicago Evangelization Society. Though this researcher could find no specific evidence, it may well be that D.L. Moody was influenced by the East London Institute for Home and Foreign Missions in attaching the same descriptive title to his own school." Most probably it was not Moody who named the school thus, but Emma Dryer, who did all the organizing and who invited Grattan Guinness in 1889 to advise her.

²⁶⁰ It is possible, that the Bibel schools got their name from the fact that the students did not learn Greek and Hebrew but studied the *English Bible*.

²⁶¹ J.M. Sherwood, Mr. Moody's Training School in: *MRW* 1889, 945f.

²⁶² The best biography is: Roger Martin, *R. A. Torrey. Apostle of Certainty*, Murfreesboro 1976. For his time in MBI see 85-125.

²⁶³ For today's doctrinal basis see: Moody Bible Institute, *Here We Stand*, Chicago 1986.

²⁶⁴ Invitation to the first course: Banneret 5.6.1891.

²⁶⁵ For valuable primary material see: "Örebro Missionsförenings års- och revisionsberättelser." For histories see: *Örebro Missionsskola 1908-1933. Minneskrift*

for Sweden, but as soon as the Örebro Missionsförening opened up to foreign missions, students of the school also went abroad. At first the students joined a variety of missions,²⁶⁶ then Örebro developed its own missionary work. The Bibel School of the Helgelseförbundet in Göteborg developed along similar lines.²⁶⁷

The oldest interdenominational French Bibel school, the Institut Biblique Nogent-sur-Marne near Paris, was started by Ruben Saillens, who had attended the East London Training Institute from 1873-1875.²⁶⁸ For the establishment of the institute he received considerable help from A.C. Dixon and C.E. Hurlbert.²⁶⁹ The first Bibel school of French speaking Switzerland was opened in 1926 by Pierre de Benoit in Vennes²⁷⁰ near Lausanne as Institut Emmaüs.²⁷¹ The first Bibel School in German speaking Switzerland was Beatenberg.²⁷² In 1934 Saturnin Wasserzug, a Swiss Jew and former

med porträttsamling, Örebro 1933; John Magnusson, Sven Lagerquist, Samuel Sollerman (ed), *Örebro Missionsskola 1908-1958*, Örebro 1958.

²⁶⁶ In 1896 missionary work was supported in Denmark, Brazil and North Africa. In 1913 Alma Doering was able to win some Örebro missionaries for Zaire.

²⁶⁷ Birger Davidsson, *Det började med ett bönemöte ... Missionssällskapet Helgelseförbundet. En presentation av Missionssällskapet Helgelseförbundets uppkomst, utveckling och verksamhet*, Kumla 1955, 11.

²⁶⁸ Wargenau-Saillens, *Ruben et Jeanne Saillens. Evangélistes*, Paris 1947, 203-221 and 57-72.

²⁶⁹ Ibid. 206-210.

²⁷⁰ His aim was: "Former des saints, des prophètes, des sacrificateurs, des hommes et des femmes de prière" (Quoted in Frank Horton, Institut Emmaüs, Objectifs Généraux 1968). - The school is now at St. Léger above Lausanne

²⁷¹ René Pache [successor of de Benoit], *Dr. Pierre de Benoit 1884-1963. Notice biographique*, Vennes 1965, 34-47.

²⁷² Of all the years under Dr. Wasserzug there are at Beatenberg only printed sources extant (Int. Peter Mayer 19.9.1986). For a short survey of the history see: "50 Jahre Bibelheim Beatenberg" in: *Bibel und Gebet*, Dec. 1984. A review of the history from her own point of view is: Gertrud Wasserzug, Wunder der Gnade Gottes. 50 Jahre "Bibelheim Beatenberg," 30 Jahre "Bibelheim Böblingen." Festschrift, Böblingen 1984.

missionary,²⁷³ and his wife Gertrud, held their first Bible courses there.²⁷⁴ In 1945 Gertrud Wasserzug²⁷⁵ began to train missionaries.²⁷⁶

In Africa the faith missions organized many schools which they called Bibel schools. But using the terminology used in this chapter they were more evangelists' and pastors' seminaries. Interdenominational Bibel schools are still rare. An example is the Christian Service College, Kumasi/Ghana, which was organized on the suggestion of WEC. A Ghanaian board is responsible for it, a WEC couple (Myra and Bill Chapman) directs it.²⁷⁷ In every year of its three years' course missiology is taught. Even stronger is the missiological emphasis with the interdenominational missionary training institute of CAPRO, the Nigerian mission.²⁷⁸

The Bible schools did not want to compete with seminaries or universities, but to supplement them,²⁷⁹ thus using those people for ministry, who

²⁷³ Saturnin Wasserzug, 38 years senior to his wife, died on 20.5.1950 aged 88. Saturnin Wasserzug was a Jew and had worked as a missionary among Jews.

²⁷⁴ "Zum Gedächtnis an Saturnin" in: *Bibel und Gebet*, Juni 1950

²⁷⁵ Gertrud Wasserzug, "By the grace of God I am what I am" (unpublished) nd.

²⁷⁶ *Mitteilungen Bibelheim und Bibelschule Beatenberg*, Oct. 1944. Call for missionary trainees: *Ibid*, Sept. 1943. December 1946 8 women and 8 men finished the first course (*Bibel und Gebet* Dec. 1946).

²⁷⁷ Successful students can work for the University of Ghana External Diploma of Theology after their three years' course (Christian Service College Prospectus [1987]).

²⁷⁸ *capromissions.org.

²⁷⁹ See A.B. Simpson's programmatic article: "A New Missionary Movement" (*WWW* 1882, 33ff): "Is there not room, is there not great need for such a class of foreign missionaries, humble men and women, fired with the love of Christ and souls, called of the Holy Ghost, dedicated to the work ... who come from the plow and workshop and store with very ordinary education, but rich divine anointing, and who, receiving a simple specific missionary training of one or two years, can go forth, inexpensively, not as settled missionaries in all cases, but as pioneers, evangelists, itinerant heralds of the great salvation. They need not reason about Confucius, or teach philosophy to cannibal Africans, but they can tell the story of Jesus and pass on."

elsewhere had little chance of using their gifts. Their aim was not to train pastors, but earnest and able missionaries at home and overseas.²⁸⁰ In the beginning Moody wanted to have only women trained in order not to compete with the seminaries.²⁸¹ But Emma Dryer's Bible Work developed in such a way that even man, though not fit for a seminary, wanted to be trained.²⁸² Finally Moody agreed and formulated as the aim of the school to train "gap-men," men and women who were to fill the gap between the well trained pastors and those people they would not reach.²⁸³

Though the Bibel schools did not want to train pastors, as a matter of fact they increasingly did. This was not due to a change in their intentions, but to a change in the Christian scene. As a result of the revival more and more church-like groups emerged like mission halls, fellowships etc. They needed personnel, and they did usually not turn to the established seminaries to find them. They looked for them where they could expect people with a revival theology similar to their own. Over the decades some of the fellowship movements developed into Free Churches, so their Bible schools became in fact seminaries, for example Örebro and Chrischona.

²⁸⁰ Fanny Guinness, *Hulme Cliff College*.

²⁸¹ Emma Dryer - Blanchard nd [1923], 8. Moody thought that deaconesses should be trained like at Mildmay. When Emma Dryer asked him what to do with the young men, he answered: "Let the theological seminaries take 'em. We'd find ourselves in hot water quick, if we undertook to educate young men."

²⁸² *Ibid.* 12.

²⁸³ John Pollock, *Moody Without Sankey*, London et al. 1983(1963), 227, 232.

Chapter 6: Interdenominational Missions and Denominational Churches: The Concept of Individual Unity

If the unreached have priority, evangelism has priority, too, because only by evangelism can the unreached be reached. If evangelism has priority, the most effective way must be followed, and most probably united effort will serve the purpose best. In giving their answer how best to unite the Christian efforts for worldwide evangelism, the faith missions took many concepts from the Brethren Movement.

The Christian Brethren

The name makes it clear: The Christian Brethren wanted to be nothing particular, sincerely so. And that's what made them so particular. They never wanted to start a new denomination, and though some still today claim to be none, they are quite a discernable entity (or better: quite a number of discernable entities) among the many Protestant denominations. Numbering about 2,5 Million, they are just a small denominational family.¹ But their smallness must not disguise the fact that in the 1830s and after they were an innovative revival movement whose influences reached far beyond their own ranks, and one movement they strongly influenced was the faith mission movement.

The Brethren Movement has no single source. Its most important early thinker was Anthony Norris Groves, a self-employed dentist who went to Baghdad in 1829 as an independent missionary, though originally, he had intended to do so as an ordained Anglican clergyman. He was an ardent student of the Bible, and the insights he gained, he and his wife Mary put into practice, even if that was costly to them. They gained the insight that their wealth was to be used in God's service, so Mary distributed 10% of

¹ Estimate of overall membership worldwide based on WCE. More than three quarters are Open (or Independent) Brethren, less than a quarter (and declining) are Exclusive Brethren.

their income to the poor.² Later they gave almost all for God's service, leading a very simple life themselves.

At Exeter the Groves were influenced by two Non-conformist ladies, the Misses Paget.³ Their influence made Groves feel deeply the tragedy of Christian divisions. For his ordination course Groves had to travel regularly to Dublin. There he was influenced by and in turn influenced a number of evangelical Christians of varied denominational background. They all felt uneasy in their particular churches and were seeking a Christian unity larger than their own various churches.

Slowly they gained the conviction that unity in Christ was not to be sought, but existed, regardless of denominational affiliation, just as it existed in the primitive church with the believers meeting in simple obedience to break the bread. So they did what Groves had suggested to them: To meet on "that simple principle of union, the love of Jesus, instead of oneness of judgement in minor things, things that may consist with a true love of Jesus."⁴ They had no intention of starting a new church. Their unity was not between denominations, but between individuals who loved the Lord. That was sufficient ground for the most intimate Christian fellowship, the

² Groves' income as a dentist was a £1000 a year, which made him wealthy in those days.

³ This is one of the many instances where women played a leading role in the early days of the Brethren Movement, which was soon to deny them even the right to offer an audible prayer in church. A similar case is Toni von Blücher in Berlin. She founded the fellowship which was to develop into the Open Brethren congregation Berlin-Hohenstauffenstraße, in which the Alliance Bible School (later Wiedenest) had in 1905 its first home to train evangelists for Eastern Europe. Annie van Sommer is another case. She started in 1853 the "Missionary Reporter," the predecessor of the "Missionary Echo" (1872, today "Echoes of Service"), which became a magazine for Brethren missionaries only. As the British Brethren negate the idea of a mission society, the editors of Echoes of Service de facto act as a kind of mission board. See: S.F. Warren, "Echoes of Service." Historical development and present role. Substance of address given at Meeting of Brethren, London Missionary Meetings, 25th October, 1979 (Bath 1979).

⁴ According to a retrospective note in his diary of 14.12.1833, quoted in Frederick Roy Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement*, Exeter 1968, 20.

breaking of the bread. Differences in doctrine could coexist with that individual unity.

The Brethren Movement continued to teach these principles, but by moving the meetings to Sunday morning, they soon became a new church. The faith missions used the same principles to define their unity: Sincere love for the Lord, latitude in doctrinal views, acceptance and disregard of the denominations. But they differed in one aspect: They did not express their unity in Sunday morning worship (that would have made them a church), but in missionary work (that would make churches abroad).

Denominational structures could be left intact, or be disregarded. Groves choose to disregard them. He could not sign the 39 articles since in article 37 he read that it "is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the magistrate, to wear weapons and serve in the wars." Also, he could see no reason why one of the several denominations should ordain him, and it came as a real relief to him when he realized that according to the New Testament there was no need at all for such an act. Eventually he even repudiated his infant baptism.⁵

Among the Dublin group, an Irish clergyman, John Nelson Darby, quickly rose to prominence. It soon turned out that Darby held views quite different to those of Groves, because in addition to many principles they held in common, Darby introduced the principle of separation.⁶

From 1826 until 1828 Groves employed Henry Craik as a tutor. Craik accepted Groves' faith principles and in 1829/30 passed them on to George Müller of Bristol, who married Grove's sister on 7.10.1830. In the early

⁵ Coad, *Brethren Movement* 23. —*For a full monograph on his life and work see: Robert Bernard Dann, *Father of Faith Missions. The Life and Times of Anthony Norris Groves*, Waynesboro/Milton Keynes, 2004.

⁶ "It is clearly the duty of a believer to separate himself from every act that he sees not to be according to the word though bearing with him who ignorantly does the act, and his duty requires this of him, even though his faithfulness should cause him to stand alone, and though, like Abraham, he should be obliged to go without knowing whither he goes" (William Kelly [ed.], *The Collected Writings of J.N. Darby*, I, 153 [Reprint 1971 H.L. Heijkoop, Winschoten]).

stages of the Brethren Movement there were two major centers, Plymouth and Bristol. Darby had links to Plymouth, but travelled widely and soon became the center of much controversy beyond and within Brethren circles.⁷ A leading preacher and teacher in the Plymouth assembly was Benjamin Wills Newton. In Bristol the leaders were Craik and Müller.

Right from the beginning Müller's (and Groves') concept of the church differed quite considerably from that of Darby in that Müller was convinced that the local church was to have an organized structure and a recognized eldership, with each elder's personal call being confirmed by the possession of appropriate qualifications and by God's blessing upon his work.⁸

When Newton developed and published views about the incarnation to which Darby could not agree, Darby in 1845 demanded that Newton retract them. Newton refused, the Plymouth assembly split, Darby broke off fellowship, and demanded that each assembly do the same.

Bristol was not involved in the controversy until Bethesda received into fellowship three members of Newton's assembly who had moved to Bristol, thus challenging Darby's authority and his doctrine of separation.⁹ This led to the permanent separation between Exclusive and Open Brethren. For the faith missions, only the Open Brethren played a direct role; but this their role was most important. It will be seen that in the formative years Hudson Taylor, Fanny Guinness, Grattan Guinness and many others were strongly influenced by them. Hudson Taylor received the faith principle of support

⁷ Roy F. Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement. Its Origins, its Worldwide Development and its Significance for the Present Day*, Exeter 1968, 140.

⁸ Ibid. 154f.

⁹ The three new members were examined by Bethesda Chapel and cleared of all suspicion of heresy. Before that, even Newton had retracted all erroneous teachings: B.W. Newton, *A Statement and Acknowledgement Respecting Certain Doctrinal Errors* (26.11.1847). Darby did not take this retraction as genuine. He demanded from Bethesda not separation from wrong teaching (first degree separation), as the three new members had never shared Newton's errors, but he demanded separation from those who did not separate themselves from people (Newton) teaching "heresies" (second degree separation, today one of the basic tenets of Fundamentalism as opposed to Evangelicalism).

from Müller, who in turn had it received from Groves via Craik. Most of the early financial support for the CIM came from Brethren assemblies or through George Müller's "Scriptural Knowledge Institution."¹⁰

From the Brethren's (non-)church concepts several aspects became important for the faith missions:

(1) The Brethren knew no ordination, no office. And those Brethren meetings like Bethesda, which recognized elders, expected them to be ordained by God, this ordination becoming visible in the fruits of their labours.

(2) The Brethren stressed direct reliance on God's call and independence from all human organization.

(3) They believed in existing unity. Therefore, they could accept and ignore the denominations at the same time, not feeling any need to work for organizational ("corporate") union of Christians.

(4) They were (at least in principle) willing to accept mutually exclusive views on minor issues of church order like baptism: At Bristol infants could not be baptized, but those who had been baptized as infants could be received into fellowship.¹¹

These Brethren concepts all play a major role in faith mission ecclesiology. Still, the faith missions are not just Brethren. Most early faith mission leaders, though they had profited greatly from the Brethren, could not stay with them, because some Brethren ideas tended to conflict with the faith missions' priority for the unreached, and Brethren sometimes tended to become more narrow and exclusive, emphasizing sometimes more the right way of doing things than to find the right ways to save the lost from perdition. This meant that almost all faith mission founders changed their denominational allegiance at least once, but usually more often.

¹⁰ This is brought out clearly in: Moira J. McKay, *Faith and Facts in the History of the China Inland Mission 1832-1905*, MLitt Aberdeen 1981.

¹¹ Originally Craik and Müller had subscribed to the strict Baptist view that infant baptism can never be sufficient grounds for church membership.

The Interdenominational Character of the Faith Missions

In the personal lives of most faith mission founders, "interdenominational" meant first of all a change of personal denominational allegiance and at the same time the decision to take such a change not too seriously. Both became constitutive for the concept of unity in the faith missions.

A Formative Transdenominational Movement

In this transdenominational movement usually the Brethren played some part, or, if not the Brethren, similarly independent congregations. Like his parents, Hudson Taylor was a Methodist, and when Barnsley Methodist Church split in 1849, like his parents he opted for the "Reformers," the later Methodist Free Church.¹² Soon after this he was attracted by the Brethren meeting in Barnsley, as he was looking for a wider "unity of all of God's children," not denominationally defined.¹³ In 1851 in Hull he joined the Brethren assembly there, which was led by Andrew Jukes and was in close contact to George Müller, the leader of the Open Brethren. There he was (re-)baptized.¹⁴ While he studied medicine in London, he belonged to Brook

¹² "With regard to my denominational views: at first I joined the Wesleyan Methodists, as my parents and friends were members of that body. But not being able to reconcile the late proceedings with the doctrines and precepts of Holy Scripture, I withdrew, and am at present united to the branch Society" (Hudson Taylor - George Pearse 25.4.1851. The full text in: Geraldine and Howard Taylor, *Hudson Taylor in Early Years. The Growth of a Soul*, London 1911, 101-104 [esp. 104]).

¹³ Ibid. 112. In those days the Brethren met in York Street, then in Foundry Hall, then in Heelis Street, today in Mottram Hall (Mottram Hall, 25th Anniversary 1963; James Marshall - Fiedler 9.11.1990).

¹⁴ A.J. Broomhall, *Over the Treaty Wall*, Sevenoaks/London 1982, 42.

Street Chapel Tottenham,¹⁵ a Brethren meeting with Quaker background.¹⁶ After his return from China from 1860-1866 he was connected to the Twig Folly Mission in Bethnal Green,¹⁷ but kept in close touch to the Brethren,¹⁸ who helped him very much in establishing the CIM.¹⁹ Later he became a Baptist, joining Westbourne Grove Baptist Church.²⁰

Grattan Guinness came from a Free Church background.²¹ After his conversion he studied for a brief time at the Congregational New College in

¹⁵ Geraldine and Howard Taylor, *Hudson Taylor in Early Years* 115-118. For the history of the congregation see: Brook Street Chapel Tottenham, N.17 1839-1989. Sometimes it is argued that Hudson Taylor was in contact to the Brethren but never joined them. This misunderstanding is due to the fact that the Brethren as a non-church movement know no official church membership. Membership in a local assembly is defined by living in a given locality and being admitted to the breaking of the bread. Both applies to Taylor (Coad, *Brethren Movement* 76). Hudson Taylor shared in the Lord's Table in Brook Street Chapel, but his name was not entered into the list of "Members in Communion at Brook Street Tottenham" (J.E. Frost, Tottenham - Fiedler 1.11.1990).

¹⁶ For the origins of that assembly and for its Quaker background see: Roy F. Coad, *Brethren Movement* 76.

¹⁷ Moira McKay, *Faith and Facts in the History of the China Inland Mission 1832-1905*, MLitt Aberdeen 1981, 105. Reports in the journal "Revival." Cf. Broomhall, *Survivors' Pact* 76.

¹⁸ The Brethren usually did not accept mission societies, but CIM was an exception (Cecil Williams, *The Recruitment and Training of Overseas Missionaries in England Between 1850 and 1900*, MLitt Bristol 1977, 185).

¹⁹ Decisive financial support again and again came from George Müller through his Scriptural Knowledge Institution. Berger, Barnardo, Lord Radstock, Pearse and the Soltaus were Brethren. Moira McKay, *Faith and Facts* 259-295 checks on the denominational background of early CIM supporters and comes to the result that Brethren, Anglicans and Baptists (in this order) provided the lion's share of support (290f).

²⁰ He kept his membership there even when later he lived in other parts of London (A.J. Broomhall - Moira McKay 31.7.1988; A.J. Broomhall, *If I had A Thousand Lives*, Sevenoaks/ London 1982, 248f).

²¹ Arthur Guinness, the founder of the famous brewery and Grattan Guinness' grandfather, was influenced by Methodism but remained a faithful member of the

London,²² preaching wherever he could. Then the interdenominational Moorside Tabernacle gave him his credentials as a travelling interdenominational evangelist.²³ His wife Fanny Fitzgerald was a Quaker,²⁴ but had strong leanings to Brethren theology, as had so many Quakers in those years.²⁵ They married in 1860, and Fanny took Grattan into the Brethren Movement,²⁶ whose "historical eschatology" fascinated him.²⁷ When Grattan Guinness invited Hudson Taylor in 1866 to Dublin, he was an elder of Merrion Hall Brethren Assembly there.²⁸ Because of a certain narrowness and because of lack of evangelistic vision the Guinness family felt increasingly ill at ease among the Brethren.²⁹ In London the Guinness family

Anglican Church. Grattan's father, Captain John Guinness, was converted in India and met his second wife Jane Lucretia d'Esterre in the Methodist York Street Chapel in Dublin, where their son Grattan was baptized as an infant (Michele Guinness - Fiedler 29.2.1988).

²² He was no success there. Michele Guinness, *The Guinness Legend* 55f.

²³ Kenneth Holmes, *The Cloud Moves*, London ⁵1974[1963], 10.

²⁴ As a young child she had been adopted by Mary and Arthur West, who were Quakers (Lucy Guinness, *Enter Thou*, 8f.).

²⁵ In those years many Quakers became Brethren (Timothy Stunt, *Early Brethren and the Society of Friends*, Pinner 1970, Christian Brethren Research Fellowship Occasional Paper 3).

²⁶ They married in the Quaker Meeting House in Bath, but soon joined a Brethren assembly (Michele Guinness - Fiedler 29.2.1988).

²⁷ Michele Guinness - Fiedler 29.2.1988.

²⁸ Michele Guinness, *The Guinness Legend* 83.

²⁹ In 1880 at the latest in his inner struggle with the Brethren concepts he came to a conclusion, which he formulated as an entry into his study Bible. I thank Michele Guinness for this information and for a copy of this entry.

joined Archibald Brown's East London Tabernacle,³⁰ but kept close contact to Thomas Barnardo's³¹ Edinburgh Castle Mission Hall in Stepney Green.³²

A.B. Simpson³³ experienced a strict Presbyterian upbringing. 1865-1881 he was a Presbyterian pastor, first in Hamilton/Canada, then in Louisville/USA and finally in New York (13th Street Presbyterian). He left the Presbyterians because he wanted to "reach the unreached masses of New York," but also because he had been (re-)baptized. His world mission endeavour he started as founder and pastor of the independent New York Gospel Tabernacle.³⁴

³⁰ Annie Reed and Harry Guinness were married there in 1887 (Mackintosh, *Harry Guinness* 29). Dana L. Robert's statement, that Fanny and Grattan Guinness were "prominent English Baptists" ("The Legacy of Adoniram Judson Gordon" in: *IBMR* Oct. 1987, 176-181 [177]), is at least misleading. The East London Tabernacle left the Baptist Union on 28.10.1887, the same day as Spurgeon's Metropolitan Tabernacle.

³¹ Grattan Guinness had met Thomas Barnardo for the first time in Merrion Street Brethren Assembly in Dublin (Michele Guinness - Fiedler 29.2.1988).

³² Harry, Lucy and Geraldine were baptized there in 1873 (Kenneth Holmes, *The Cloud Moves*, London ⁵1974[1963], 21). Harry (born 2.10.1861) was 12 years old, Lucy was 9 and Geraldine was 7 (M. Wargenau-Saillens, *Ruben et Jeanne Saillens. Evangélistes*, Paris 1947, 66).

³³ The standard biographies (Albert E. Thompson, *The Life of A.B. Simpson*, Brooklyn 1920 [later: Albert E. Thompson, *A.B. Simpson. His Life and Work*, Camp Hill PA 1960]; Aiden Wilson Tozer, *Wingspread. Albert B. Simpson. A Study in Spiritual Altitude*, Harrisburg PA 1943 [a kind of hagiography]) which, over the years were increasingly felt to be insufficient, have now been superseded by the reliable and well written: Robert L. Niklaus; John S. Sawin; Samuel J. Stoesz, *All For Jesus. God at Work in The Christian and Missionary Alliance Over One Hundred Years*, Camp Hill 1986. For a thorough and scholarly treatment of his theology see: David F. Hartzfeld; Charles Nienkirchen; *The Birth of a Vision. Essays by members of the faculty of Canadian Bible College and the faculty of Canadian Theological Seminary Regina, Saskatchewan, the official College and Seminary of The Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada on the occasion of the Centennial of the Christian and Missionary Alliance 1887-1987*, Regina 1986.

³⁴ Niklaus/Sawin/Stoesz, *All for Jesus* 52ff. - Already earlier he had worked for world missions by publishing the illustrated missionary magazine "The Gospel in All Lands" (Ibid. 36-39).

At the same time he was the founder and leader of a fellowship movement for spiritual renewal, the Christian Alliance (later Christian and Missionary Alliance). Simpson had no intention of starting a new denomination, but also, he had no objection if CMA members in a given place formed themselves into an independent congregation. He saw the local church as a means to reach the people, not so much as part of a denomination.

Fredrik Franson was born in Sweden to pious Lutheran parents, who then migrated to the USA. In 1874, two years after his conversion, he was baptized and joined Estina Swedish Baptist Church.³⁵ When Baptist ecclesiology became too narrow to him, he turned to Moody's interdenominational Chicago Avenue Church,³⁶ which received him as a member on the 4.8.1878. The next day the church gave him his credentials as a travelling evangelist.³⁷ His ecclesiological studies helped considerably in the formation of the Evangelical Free Churches in America, but he remained a member of Chicago Avenue Church all his life.

Rowland V. Bingham, founder of the SIM, usually is taken to have been a Baptist. He came from Dissenter stock, then joined the Salvation Army, through which he had experienced his conversion.³⁸ Before he first tried to reach the Sudan in 1893, he had come under strong Brethren influence³⁹

³⁵ Paul H. Sheetz, *The Sovereign Hand*, Wheaton 1971, 17.

³⁶ For a study of Moody's concept of the church see: Stan Nussbaum, D.L. Moody and the Church: A Study of the Ecclesiological Implications of Extra-Ecclesiastical Evangelism, MA Deerfield 1973. It is very likely that Chicago Avenue Church is the first independent and interdenominational church in America (Edvard Torjesen - Fiedler 11.3.1988). For its history see: Robert G. Flood, *The Story of Moody Church. A Light in the City*, Chicago 1985. This informative book shows harmonizing tendencies. Therefore, the drastic change from Holiness Movement (Rader) to Brethren Movement and Historic Fundamentalism (Ironsides) is not marked clearly enough.

³⁷ Edvard Torjesen, *A Study of Fredrik Franson* 79f.

³⁸ J. H. Hunter, *A Flame of Fire* 39; 43ff.

³⁹ Rowland Bingham, *Seven Sevens of Years and a Jubilee* 106.

and worked as pastoral assistant to John Salmon,⁴⁰ pastor of the independent (CMA aligned) Bethany Chapel in Toronto.⁴¹ In attempting an independent mission he followed Brethren missiology. After his return from Nigeria he became interim pastor of a Baptist congregation in Newburgh/New York. His ministry caught on well, so he was ordained.⁴² First he had the idea of starting a Baptist mission. But when a Presbyterian lady gave him a sum of money for the Sudan, he felt it wrong to accept Presbyterian money and refusing Presbyterian missionaries, so he decided that his Sudan mission was to be interdenominational.⁴³ But even while he was thinking of establishing a Baptist mission, he did this on his own initiative. He did not consult with the leaders of his denomination, in the same way as the leaders of Newburgh Baptist Church had not conferred with the leaders of their denomination when they ordained him.

Peter Cameron Scott, founder of the AIM, came from a pious Presbyterian family,⁴⁴ but before he went to Zaire as a CMA missionary, A.B. Simpson ordained him.⁴⁵ It was not the CMA which ordained him, since the CMA then was no denomination yet, but the independent New York Gospel Tabernacle. Charles E. Hurlbert, Scotts successor, came from a Congregationalist

⁴⁰ John Salmon, neglected by historians, was the founder of the CMA in Canada (Lindsay Reynolds, *Footprints. The Beginnings of The Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada*, Toronto 1981).

⁴¹ Lindsay Reynolds, *Footprints* 179-182.

⁴² Ibid. 106.

⁴³ Rowland Bingham, *Seven Sevens of Years* 109 - He became convinced "that minor differences of denominations afforded no basis for separation in our work."

⁴⁴ Kenneth Richardson, *Garden of Miracles. The Story of the Africa Inland Mission*, 21, 23.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 24. It was the exception that Simpson ordained a missionary before he left. This ordination then must mean that Scott either joined the independent New York Gospel Tabernacle or at least shared its convictions. There are no documents available about his ordination in the CMA. On the side effects of ordinations within the interdenominational fellowship movement CMA see: Reynolds, *Footprints* 164-167.

church close to Oberlin.⁴⁶ But his spiritual home was the YMCA, the Pennsylvania Bible Institute (full of holiness teaching and prophetic teaching) and the Bible classes around Philadelphia, which he taught at regular intervals.⁴⁷ He also acted without any reference to his denomination, but consulted the independent Presbyterian Arthur Tappan Pierson.⁴⁸ After leaving missionary service in old age, he joined the Church of the Open Door in Los Angeles, an interdenominational church patterned after Chicago Avenue Church,⁴⁹ from where in 1928 he started the Unevangelized Africa Mission.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Kenneth Richardson, *Garden of Miracles. The Story of the Africa Inland Mission*, 43.

⁴⁷ This is brought out very clearly by *Hearing and Doing* 1896-1900.

⁴⁸ On 14.6.1900 he wrote for Hurlbert this letter of recommendation: "Mr. Charles E. Hurlbert, who is connected with the Africa Inland Mission and intimately known by me and has my entire confidence. The mission he superintends is in my judgement based on sound scriptural and apostolic principles. Its foundations are laid in Holy Scripture, the atonement, and the work of the blessed Spirit. It is a work of faith and prayer. I can heartily commend it to all friends of mission, and believers in Christ our Lord, as worthy to enlist sympathy and prayer, and as offering a fit opportunity to invest consecrated gifts for the purpose of carrying out our Lord's great command." (Reprinted in facsimile on the cover of *Hearing and Doing* July-Sept. 1911 commemorating Pierson's death). Pierson advised Hurlbert when he reorganized the AIM after Scott's death and drafted the AIM's doctrinal statement (7).

⁴⁹ In the official history of the Church of the Open Door (Michael Cocoris, *70 Years on Hope Street. A History of the Church of the Open Door 1915-1985*, Los Angeles Glendora 1985) Hurlbert is not mentioned, but he was indeed a member of this church: Church of the Open Door [Dianne Elyse Enderby] - Fiedler 5.10.1987.

⁵⁰ The work of the UAM was overshadowed by severe personality problems all the years of its existence. In 1945 it became the first field of the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society which had been founded the previous year (NN, *founded on the Word, Focused on the World. The Story of the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society*, Wheaton 1978, 77).

Arthur Tappan Pierson (1837-1911)⁵¹ came from 13th Street Presbyterian Church in New York,⁵² where he was ordained in 1860.⁵³ 1869-1876 he was pastor of a Congregationalist church in Detroit,⁵⁴ 1891/92 and 1892/1893 pastor of Spurgeon's Metropolitan Tabernacle in London,⁵⁵ an independent Baptist church,⁵⁶ though Pierson himself had only been baptized as an infant. Only after leaving the Metropolitan Tabernacle he was baptized on confession of his faith in 1896.⁵⁷ He did not become a Baptist,⁵⁸ but remained independent.⁵⁹ All his sympathies were with the Brethren. He

⁵¹ His biographies are: J. Kennedy Maclean, *Dr. Pierson and His Message*, London 1911; Delavan Leonard Pierson, *Arthur T. Pierson. A Biography by His Son*, London 1912. Cf. Dana L. Robert, "'The Crisis of Missions': Premillennial Missions Theory and the Origins of Independent Evangelical Missions" in: Carpenter/Shenk, *Earthen Vessels* 29-46.

⁵² From 1879 to 1881 A.B. Simpson was pastor of this congregation, which he left to start an evangelistic Tabernacle congregation.

⁵³ Delavan L. Pierson, *Arthur T. Pierson*, 72f.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 127ff.

⁵⁵ Maclean, *Dr. Pierson and His Message* 13-21; Delavan L. Pierson, *Arthur T. Pierson* 226-251.

⁵⁶ The Metropolitan Tabernacle had its origins in the Baptist Union. But even while still its member, it acted quite independently, for example by starting its own pastors' seminary. On 28.10.1887 the Tabernacle left the Baptist Union in the wake of the "Down-grade Controversy." Cf. C.H. Spurgeon's Autobiography, vol. IV, 253-264.

⁵⁷ He had intended to be baptized by his (Brethren) friend George Müller, but was then baptized on 1.2.1896 by Dr. James Spurgeon, Charles Haddon Spurgeon's brother, in West Croydon Chapel because he felt that he should not delay any longer this act of obedience. He was baptized on a Saturday in the presence of a few friends (Delavan L. Pierson, *Arthur T. Pierson* 263).

⁵⁸ He could not agree to the then Baptist position that believer's baptism was precondition for being admitted to the Lord's table (Delavan Leonard Pierson, *Arthur T. Pierson*, 269).

⁵⁹ This was also the case with A.B. Simpson, who was baptized by a Baptist, but never became a Baptist. For him this baptism was, as for Grattan Guinness, an act of simple obedience without ecclesiological significance. A symbol for this understanding was that he was baptized in a Baptist chapel, but the pastor's wife

wrote the first authoritative biography of George Müller,⁶⁰ whose Bethesda Chapel for him was one of the two "really apostolic churches" which he knew.⁶¹ In partnership with J.M. Sherwood he continued "The Missionary Review of the World" [MRW], which the (somewhat dissenting) Presbyterian R.G. Wilder had begun in 1878.⁶² In the MRW he gave to the independent and faith missions much prominence, because he saw them as important additional forces to supplement the (still insufficient) endeavours of the classical missions.⁶³

George Pearse,⁶⁴ initiator of the Mission to the Kabyles [NAM], came from Hackney Brethren Assembly.⁶⁵ Edward Glenny, who took up Pearse's initiative and led the mission over a period of 33 years, also belonged to the Brethren.⁶⁶ Before joining the Brethren, Glenny was an Anglican. Pearse had joined the Brethren in his youth.⁶⁷ Carl Polnick, leader of the Deutsche China-Allianz-Mission, was at the same time founder and leader of the independent mission hall type fellowship Pannewiese in Wuppertal.⁶⁸

was the only witness (Niklaus/ Sawin/Stoesz, *All for Jesus* 43). Pierson also was not baptized in a Sunday service as is usual with Baptists.

⁶⁰ Arthur T. Pierson, *George Müller of Bristol*, London ⁶1901.

⁶¹ Roger Steer, *George Müller. Delighted in God*, London 1975, 101.

⁶² MRW editorial, No. 1, 1888. Wilder had been a missionary to India who had to retire for health reasons.

⁶³ Starting in January 1884, 52 MRW regularly reports about "Independent Foreign Missions and Missionaries." Cf. Dana L. Roberts, "The Crisis of Missions" 32f.

⁶⁴ In 1850 George Pearse was one of the founders of the Chinese Evangelization Society, which sent Hudson Taylor to China in 1854. The CIM till today keeps the CES archives.

⁶⁵ Roy F. Coad, *Brethren Movement* 166.

⁶⁶ Francis R. Steele, *Not in Vain. The Story of North Africa Mission*, Pasadena 1981, 18.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 15.

⁶⁸ Bertha Polnick, *Carl Polnick. Ein Lebensbild*, Barmen 1920, 17-19; *50 Jahre Allianz-China-Mission*, Barmen 11. The fellowship (then called Christlicher Missionsverein, Seifenstraße) joined the Bund Freier evangelischer Gemeinden in 1924 (*Gärtner* 1924, 429 [Dirk Stechulat - Fiedler]).

A few of the founders of the early faith missions remained more or less true to their original church, often less than more. None of them played a major role in his or her denomination, most were not even ordained. Spencer Walton, who founded the Cape General Mission [SAGM/AEF], was an Anglican, but strongly influenced by the Brethren, whom he joined on the 19.2.1872, a day after his conversion.⁶⁹ After some time he returned to the Anglican Church, "due to increased knowledge and clearer light,"⁷⁰ and worked from 1882-1884 for the Parochial Missionary Society, which had been founded on the suggestion of Moody. He then left the Parochial Missionary Society, to regain his independence and to work without regard to denominational borders.⁷¹

C.T. Studd joined the CIM as an Anglican, but though the CIM in China had an "Anglican section," he did not care to be sent there. Priscilla was from the Salvation Army. After some time C.T. Studd left the Anglican church, and much to the dismay of his family, refused to have his children baptized. In India he was pastor of an interdenominational church, and he baptized his four daughters (aged 12 to 18) as believers in his garden.⁷² There is no information available that he ever joined a denomination, and when asked in 1912 to state his denominational allegiance on the AIM-GB application form, he wrote: "The Church of Christ."⁷³

Information about Karl Kumm's denominational affiliation are scarce. He is said to have remained a Lutheran all his life, but he married the independent Baptist Lucy Guinness and all his years in Britain, when he and Lucy founded the SUM, he lived far away from the next Lutheran church, and

⁶⁹ Diary entry 19.1.1872 [the context shows that it was the 19.2.1872] in: Weeks, *Spencer Walton* 7. He joined most probably Brixton Hall Assembly, where he followed the Bible teaching of the famous Dr. Cronin.

⁷⁰ George Weeks, *Spencer Walton* 7.

⁷¹ George Weeks, *Spencer Walton* 23. A contemporary announcement read: "Among other reasons he desires not to confine himself to one branch of Christ's Church, but to take up general and undenominational mission work."

⁷² Eileen Vincent, *C.T. Studd and Priscilla* 123f. Amy Carmichael and the Anglican vicar were present.

⁷³ Application form in the AIM-GB archives.

after all he was far too much a traveller to attend any one church regularly.⁷⁴ The two children born of his marriage to Gertrude Cato (Lucy⁷⁵ and John) were baptized as infants, probably in the Anglican Church.⁷⁶ Similar is Alma Doering's case. From German Lutheran stock, she was baptized as an infant and is said never to have changed her denominational allegiance. But she worked most closely with the Defenseless Mennonites, who sent her to work on their Mennonite AIM mission station Matara/Kenya.⁷⁷ She was never rebaptized,⁷⁸ not because she was a convinced Lutheran holding fast to the prevenient grace of her infant baptism, but simply because she did not care about denominations.⁷⁹

Héli Chatelin, who founded the Mission Philafricaine, came from the Église Réformée du Vaud (Switzerland). Living almost always abroad, he could hardly be an active member of his church. In between he became a Methodist: When he was a member of Bishop Taylor's Self-Supporting Mission and the bishop arrived with the first group of 23 missionaries in Luanda/Angola, the bishop's first official action was to start a Methodist church, and he made all the missionaries and their children members of this

⁷⁴ Lucy Kumm, while living in Castleton, most probably attended free church worship (Michele Guinness - Fiedler 22.4.1989).

⁷⁵ Lucy died at the age of fourteen from diabetes.

⁷⁶ Irene Cleverdon, *Pools on the Glowing Sand*, Melbourne 1936, 152; 156.

⁷⁷ In 1906 the Defenseless Mennonites agreed to staff Matara as an AIM station for five years. In 1911 the Defenseless Mennonites sold their station to the AIM (*Hearing and Doing* Apr.-Dec. 1910, 14).

⁷⁸ This information is not necessarily correct. When she had become too old to be UTM's travelling secretary, she retired and started the D+D [Doering and Dunkelberger] Missionary Home in St. Petersburg, FL. 1955-1957 she regularly attended the Gospel Tabernacle, whose pastor was Edwin Drew, founder of the interdenominational China Boat Mission. Then she was a member of the independent Community Baptist Church. She died a member of Elyria Independent Baptist Church in Elyria OH. This *may* imply that later in her life she was (re-) baptized (Louisa Howard - Fiedler 30.9.1988). Pastor of Elyria Baptist Church for many years was Dr. Ralph Neighbor, whose widow then worked for the publishing house of Beatenberg Bible School in Switzerland.

⁷⁹ Int. Louise Howard 21.2.1986.

church, though only a minority of the missionaries had been Methodists when leaving America.⁸⁰ Already in 1887 Chatelin felt definitely unhappy about being a Methodist, as he no longer wanted to be tied down to any one denomination.⁸¹ So it was only logical that he turned himself into an independent missionary in 1888⁸² and then in 1896 founded an interdenominational faith mission. During the closing years of his life he revived his interest in his home church and tried to "bequeath" his mission to it.⁸³

The only founder of a faith mission, who was an ordained minister of a classical church, was Ludwig Doll (1846-1883). But he was most impressed by George Müller of the Brethren,⁸⁴ and according to Müller's example he founded first an orphanage, then, following Grattan Guinness' example, a missionary training school (Missionsseminar Neukirchen) and finally the interdenominational Neukirchen Mission.⁸⁵ But even as a regular Reformed

⁸⁰ Chatelin's letter of 23.3.1885 in: Alida Chatelin, *Héli Chatelin* 67.

⁸¹ "Je vois clairement que je ne puis, sans grand sacrifice, être membre actif d'aucune dénomination, et que mon influence doit se faire valoir surtout en faveur de l'évangélisation non-confessionnelle" (Héli Chatelin - Alida Chatelin 8.10.1887 in: Alida Chatelin, *Héli Chatelin*).

⁸² Alida Chatelin, *Héli Chatelin* 137.

⁸³ The church as such did not take him up on the offer, but Reformed Christians largely took responsibility for the Swiss side of the mission, though the mission remained interdenominational.

⁸⁴ Doll had met George Müller in spring 1877 during his visit to Rhenania (Affeld, *Er mache uns im Glauben kühn* 9). On 27.8.1882 Müller preached the sermon in the village church at the opening of the mission seminary, and in the afternoon, he gave a talk (11).

⁸⁵ For his life see: Bernd Brandl, "Ludwig Doll. Der Gründer der ersten deutschsprachigen Glaubensmission" in: EM 1988, 41-46. *For a full history see Bernd Brandl, *Die Geschichte der Neukirchener Mission als erste deutsche Glaubensmission*, PhD, ETF Leuven, 1997, published as: *Die Neukirchener Mission. Ihre Geschichte als erste deutsche Glaubensmission*. Schriftenreihe des Vereins für Rheinische Kirchengeschichte, Vol. 128. Köln/Neukirchen Vluyn: Rheinland Verlag/Neukirchener Verlag, 1998.

pastor, his personal concept of the church was Free Evangelical.⁸⁶ Doll died early, his successor Stursberg was Reformed as Doll was, but twice baptized.

To sum up the argument: The initiative for starting a faith mission usually came from men and women who once belonged to the Brethren, were influenced by them or belonged to independent congregations. If the founders belonged to a "regular" denomination, they behaved very independently. The role of the Brethren is conspicuous,⁸⁷ but most of them could not accept narrow Brethrenism. Their evangelistic impulses were too strong for that.⁸⁸ The Brethren and the independent missionaries had provided the nascent faith missions with innovative patterns to follow. The missiological achievement of the faith missions lies in the fact

⁸⁶ This is shown by the fact that he counselled the leaders of a revival in the Biedenkopf area to attempt to conserve the fruits of this revival by aiming at the establishment of Free Evangelical Churches (*Missions- und Heidenbote* 1928, 269f).

⁸⁷ "Many of those who joined the society lived in a sort of spiritual no-man's land. Their spiritual inspiration came less from the orthodox churches than from the experiences of the revival and, later, of the holiness movement. Denominational membership ... often involved a transdenominational movement, with membership of the Brethren playing some part" (Cecil Williams, *Recruitment and Training* 185).

⁸⁸ Lucy Guinness married the Lutheran Karl Kumm. The Brethren were too narrow for her (Lucy Guinness, 1883 diary). Harry and Annie Guinness joined the Church of England after their marriage. In 1903 Grattan Guinness married Grace Hurditch, his junior by 41 years, daughter of Charles Russel Hurditch, one of the Brethren leaders [Michele Guinness, *The Guinness Legend* 247ff; cf. Coad, *Brethren Movement* 169-181]. After a trip around the world to visit former ELTI students, they joined the Church of England in Bath, where their two sons, John Christopher (*20.7.1906) and Paul (*8.5.1908) were baptized as infants (Michele Guinness - Fiedler 29.2.1988).

Denominational development of the early faith mission leaders.⁸⁹

Hudson Taylor	CIM	Methodist - Free Methodist - Brethren - Mission Hall - Baptist
Grattan Guinness	ELTI	Dissenter - Brethren - Mission Hall - Independent Baptist - Anglican
Fanny Guinness	LIM	Quaker - Brethren - Mission Hall - Independent Baptist
Lucy Guinness	SUM	Brethren - Mission Hall - Independent Baptist
A.B. Simpson	CMA	Presbyterian - Independent
Fredrik Franson	TEAM	Lutheran - Baptist - Independent
Rowland Bingham	SIM	Dissenter - Salvation Army - Independent/Brethren - Baptist
Peter C. Scott	AIM	Presbyterian - Independent (CMA)
Charles Hurlbert	AIM	Congregationalist - Independent
Arthur T. Pierson		Presbyterian - Congregationalist - (Brethren/Baptist) - Independent
George Pearse	NAM	Anglican - Brethren
Edward Glenny	NAM	Anglican - Brethren
Carl Polnick	ACM	Protestant - Independent
Spencer Walton	SAGM	Anglican - Brethren - Anglican
Karl Kumm	SUM	Lutheran - (Mission Hall)
Alma Doering	CoIM	Lutheran - (Mennonite) - Independent
Héli Chatelin	MPH	Reformed - Methodist - Reformed tendency
Ludwig Doll	Neuk	Reformed - Free Evangelical tendencies
John Ongman	Örebro	Lutheran - Baptist - (Örebro Missionsforening)
C.T. Studd	WEC	Anglican - (India: Interdenominational) – no formal membership – Heart of Africa Mission
Priscilla Studd	WEC	Salvation Army - (India: Interdenominational) -

that they managed both to use these new patterns and to surpass them.⁹⁰ They based their concepts, like their predecessors, on individuality and

⁸⁹ Information in brackets denotes influences, often coupled with active participation, but without formal membership, the original denominational affiliation being retained.

⁹⁰ In this context it should be recalled that Hudson Taylor was an independent missionary before he founded CIM. Likewise Héli Chatelin, Rowland Bingham and others were independent missionaries earlier in their careers. Several faith

independence, but avoided the logical extreme of complete independence, be it of the individual missionary or of the individual congregation, thus making more effective organization possible.

Denominational Background of the Faith Missionaries

For the faith missions unity is basically individual, not corporate.⁹¹ Christian unity always means cooperation not of churches, but of individuals belonging to different churches.⁹² The approval of a church for one of its member to join a faith mission is not required, though, if freely granted, gladly accepted. Every faith missionary is expected to have a positive relationship to his or her church (whichever Protestant church that may be).⁹³ If missionaries want to change their denomination, no objections are raised. That's a matter of individual concern.⁹⁴ The faith missions accept the

missions started as independent missions, for example Qua Iboe Mission and Angola Evangelical Mission. Others, like the early CMA, had independent tendencies.

⁹¹ This basic concept of unity does not exclude but includes organizational cooperation where it is deemed useful.

⁹² Possible formulas are: "A union effort of Christians of all Denominations" (*The Missionary Witness*, March 1914); or: "The Basis of the Congo Balolo Mission is interdenominational, simply Christian and thoroughly evangelical. Members of any of the evangelical churches are welcomed as workers in it" (Fanny Guinness, *The New World of Central Africa* 483).

⁹³ A typical statement of this can be found in the 1973/74 Catalogue of the Canadian Prairie Bible Institute (11): "The School is denominationally unrelated, yet it is definitely not anti-denominational ... [The students] prefer the whole undivided body to any one division thereof, while yet remaining warm-hearted members of their particular denomination."

⁹⁴ Gary R. Corwin, *Evangelical Separatism and the Growth of Independent Mission Boards 1920-1945*. Some preliminary observations from the history of the Sudan Interior Mission, Preliminary Paper 1986, 9f (based on questionnaires sent to retired SIM missionaries) indicate that 16 out of 121 SIM missionaries who responded to the questionnaire had left a classical church and joined Baptist or independent congregations while being members of SIM. Corwin did not look into the important question if the missionaries changed their denominational allegiance

existing churches,⁹⁵ but insist that their own place is outside of all ecclesiastical structures, an insistence which they back up by financing their own work.⁹⁶

The idea not to transplant the denominational divisions on the missions field dates back at least to William Carey, though he felt that for practical reasons every denomination should work separately.⁹⁷ Three years later, the [London] Missionary Society put Carey's ideal into practice, making it its "fundamental principle ... not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order or Government (about which there may be differences of opinion among serious Persons), but the Glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the Heathen."⁹⁸

while in active service or after retirement. His findings seem to be representative for America, the rate for Europe should be lower.

⁹⁵ Norman Grubb - Alfred Ruscoe 22.11.1940: "...that we boldly stand with all denominations as a unifying force and up-to-date attempt to complete the task of worldwide evangelization."

⁹⁶ There is no detailed study yet on the financing of faith missions. For some historical information see: Moira J. McKay, Faith and Facts. Mainly based on questionnaires sent to American faith missions: Eileen Sauer, The Dynamics Affecting Faith Mission Finance, MA Columbia Bible College 1969. *For Germany see: Arndt Elmar Schnepfer, Mission und Geld. Glaubensprinzip und Spendengewinnung der deutschen Glaubensmissionen. Genese, Struktur und Legitimation, PhD, UNISA, 2004.

⁹⁷ "I wish with all my heart, that everyone who loves our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, would in some way or other engage in it. But in the present divided state of Christendom, it would be more likely for good to be done by each denomination engaging separately in the work, than if they were to embark in it conjointly" (William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*, Leicester 1792, 84).

⁹⁸ "As the union of God's People of various Denominations, in carrying on this great Work, is a most desirable Object, so, to prevent, if possible, any cause of future dissention, it is declared to be a fundamental principle of the Missionary Society, that our design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order or Government (about which there may be differences of opinion among serious Persons), but the Glorious Gospel of the

The various churches which the LMS envisaged in its "fundamental principle" differed greatly on the forms of church government, but they all agreed on infant baptism.⁹⁹ The same applies to all the early interdenominational classical missions: Baptists were not welcome. When Reuben Saillens, later student of ELTI and founder of the first French interdenominational missionary training institute (Nogent-sur-Marne), informed the Paris Mission that his views on baptism had changed, the Paris Mission's approval to his candidacy was immediately withdrawn.¹⁰⁰ Equally Adoniram Judson immediately left the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, when he accepted believers' baptism.¹⁰¹ The faith missions' concept of interdenominational was similar to that of the classical missions, but much wider: The faith missions accept both modes of baptism, thus accepting two mutually exclusive doctrines both as right. For the faith missions interdenominational did not mean just cooperation between Christians from similar churches, but from churches with some mutually exclusive doctrines like Baptists and Anglicans.

The early CIM did not care much to which denomination a missionary candidate belonged, it was not even officially registered.¹⁰² Nevertheless Hudson Taylor was informed enough to say: "Those already associated with me represent all the leading denominations of our native land - Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist, Baptist and Paedobaptist. Besides

blessed God to the Heathen: and that it shall be left (as it ever ought to be left) to the minds of the Persons whom God may call into the fellowship of His Son from among them to assume for themselves such form of Church Government, as to them shall appear most agreeable to the Word of God" (Min. LMS 9.5.1796 in: Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895*, London 1899, 49f).

⁹⁹ Cf. W.H. Willis - Lovett 12.2.1895 in: Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society I*, 802.

¹⁰⁰ Casalis - A. Saillens 18.10.1870; A. Saillens - Casalis 20.10.1872; M. Wargenau-Saillens, *Ruben et Jeanne Saillens. Évangélistes*, Paris 1947, 57.

¹⁰¹ Stacy R. Warburton, *Ostwärts! Die Lebensgeschichte von Adoniram Judson*, St. Gallen 1947, 84f.

¹⁰² Cecil Peter Williams, *Recruitment and Training* 154.

these, two are or have been connected with the 'Brethren' so-called."¹⁰³ Hudson Taylor's description of his early missionary company was quite all right for almost all the early faith missions. Understandably, the denominational mixture of the members of a smaller mission might be less varied: The early QIM missionaries were mostly Presbyterians, the early Sudan-Pionier-Mission members were all from the German territorial churches, but the three missionaries who formed an independent mission to reach the Sudan in 1893 were of three different denominations.¹⁰⁴

The above quoted words of Hudson Taylor show also the limits of "inter-denominational": All Protestants were acceptable. He had no need to say that Catholics were not. The Catholic Church ("Romanism") was not considered a church, but a heresy, and Catholic areas were possible mission fields.

In addition to being Protestant, and more important than that, a prospective missionary had to subscribe to the "doctrinal base" or "statement of faith" of the mission.¹⁰⁵ These he could usually find in a little booklet with the title "Principles and Practice" or the like. The first "Principles and Practice" of the CIM did not contain yet a statement of faith, what was "generally held among evangelical Christians" could be assumed to be known.¹⁰⁶ In the P+Ps of 1885 what was generally held was explicitly stated:

¹⁰³ Geraldine and Howard Taylor, *Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission*, London 1918, 416. Cf. Daniel Bacon, *From Faith to Faith* 54.

¹⁰⁴ Walter Gowans was a Presbyterian (his sister was a CMA missionary in Beijing [6th Annual Report International Missionary Alliance 11/10/1893], Tom Kent was a Congregationalist, Bingham himself was a former Salvation Army member, who felt strongly attracted by the teachings of the Brethren (Bingham, *Seven Sevens of Years* 106), presently working as "pastoral assistant" in the independent (CMA related) Bethany Chapel in Toronto.

¹⁰⁵ For few typical statements of faith see appendix of Klaus Fiedler, *Ganz auf Vertrauen*.

¹⁰⁶ The first CIM "Principles and Practice" were written on 2.2.1866 on board of the "Lammermuir" by Hudson Taylor and three of the male members of the party. They became valid in May 1867 after being signed by all (Moir McKay, *Faith and Facts* 140).

"Candidates are expected to satisfy the Directors and the Council as to their soundness in the faith in all fundamental truths, especially as to the inspiration of the Scriptures, the Trinity, the fall of man, and his state by nature, the atonement, the eternal salvation of the redeemed and the everlasting punishment of the lost."¹⁰⁷ This list of basic evangelical ("fundamental") truths is similar to the "basis" of the Evangelical Alliance of 1846.¹⁰⁸ But Taylor's list was one item short (article 9): "The Divine institution of the Christian Ministry, and the obligation and perpetuity of the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper." Taylor felt these things not to be so important, though he opposed none of them.¹⁰⁹ Some early faith missions adopted the "basis" of the Evangelical Alliance as their doctrinal base, including article 9.¹¹⁰ Other missions used their own words to the same effects.¹¹¹

These early enumerations of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith did not serve the purpose of delineation against the denominational missions, since they did not differ on the fundamentals. These statements of faith did not serve the purpose of separation, but the purpose of defining unity. The classical missions demanded in addition agreement in the field of ecclesiology, which the faith missions (following Groves) considered to be minor matters. The faith missions were not in conflict with liberal theology, not because they were in sympathy with liberal views, but because there were no liberal missions. Though there was no controversy with liberal

¹⁰⁷ China Inland Mission, *Principles and Practice* 1885.

¹⁰⁸ Evangelical Alliance, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Conference, held at Freemasons' Hall, London, August 19th, and following days*, London nd, 122, 125, 128, 152, 169, 183ff.

¹⁰⁹ "We many of us hold the view so strongly advocated by Dr Pierson "that the distinction of clerical and lay is Anti-Scriptural, Romish and from the Devil." Nevertheless, most of us believe in ordination, and not a few are ordained." (CIM archives K 128 quoted by Moira McKay 121).

¹¹⁰ The largest of these missions is SUM.

¹¹¹ For example (Vernon Mortenson, *This is TEAM*, Wheaton 1967, 47).

theology, the doctrinal statements, basic as they were, would have scared off any liberal applicants.¹¹²

Issues of church order were minor matters for the faith missions. They were not dealt with in the Principles and Practice, or if so, in a negative way. The SAGM stated that neither workers nor converts would be tied to any special form of church order.¹¹³ The AIM left it to the individual missionary to decide on church order. In the SIM the field conference was to decide etc. As much as the faith missions did not insist on a given form of church order, so they did not choose, with few exceptions, between Arminian and Calvinistic theology,¹¹⁴ following the word attributed to Moody: "I am an Arminian up to the cross, but a Calvinist beyond."¹¹⁵

In defining interdenominational, it was easy to define the limits against Catholics and Liberals. It was much more difficult to find the limits of what was interdenominationally bearable *within* the evangelical camp, since many of those who held extreme views could honestly sign the required

¹¹² In the many primary sources, I have not come across a rejection of a missionary candidate because of too liberal views.

¹¹³ South Africa General Mission, Statement of Position, Feb. 1903.

¹¹⁴ A fair treatment of both positions, written from a Calvinist point of view, is: David N. Steele; Curtis C. Thomas, *The Five Points of Calvinism Defined, Defended, Documented*, Philadelphia 1963. On 16-19 both positions are contrasted point by point.

¹¹⁵ Stanley N. Gundry, *Love Them In. The Life and Theology of D.L. Moody*, Grand Rapids²1982(1976), 143. This statement fits Moody's theology well, but up to now no primary source has been found to prove its authenticity. L.E. Maxwell, founder of Prairie Bible Institute, taught that the "Arminian" and the "Calvinist" texts expressed different aspects of the same truth, conditioned by the fact that the various letters of the New Testament were written to answer concrete problems (L.E. Maxwell, *Prairie Pillars*, Three Hills 1971, 54). Even Africa Evangelistic Band with its strong roots in the Holiness Movement did not make Arminianism obligatory: "In any case young people preaching all over the country having had only two years in a Bible College are not expected to be theologians. Their desire is that souls get saved - be it Calvinistically or Methodistically" (Colin N. Peckham, *The Africa Evangelistic Band. An Historical and Doctrinal Appraisal*, Dipl Th, Johannesburg 1973, 176).

statement of doctrine. The early SUM provides two interesting cases which point out these limits and how they were stated in actual life.¹¹⁶ One of the first candidates for of the SUM (then still the Sudan Pioneer Mission) was Hermann Harris, who before had been a missionary with the failed Central Soudan Mission.¹¹⁷ Kumm was glad to have him because he spoke Hausa and French and had been to the Sudan Belt. But since he and his wife had been followers of John Alexander Dowie of Zion/Illinois,¹¹⁸ who taught that for Christians faith and prayer would be the only necessary medicines,¹¹⁹ doubts arose as to his suitability.¹²⁰ Kumm was willing to accept him, but Harris was not willing to work with "missionaries who are not faith healers."¹²¹ Among the first group which learned Hausa in Tripolis were Forrest and Shand, both members of Gordon Hall Mission in Aberdeen. Influenced by his mother, Shand began to attend Exclusive Brethren

¹¹⁶ Min. Sudan Pioneer Mission [SUM] 2.11.1903.

¹¹⁷ The Central Soudan Mission was supported by the [Holiness] Pentecostal League. Kumm disqualified their attempt to reach the Sudan from Tripolis and across the Sahara as dreamy ["schwärmerisch und phantastisch"] (Min. Sudan-Pionier-Mission 25.10.1900).

¹¹⁸ His biography, written from a Charismatic point of view, is: Gordon Lindsay, *John Alexander Dowie. A Life Story of Trials, Tragedies and Triumphs*, Dallas 1980. Cf. Walter Hollenweger, *Enthusiastisches Christentum. Die Pfingstbewegung in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Wuppertal/Zürich 1969, 124-130. Lindsay also published Dowies' sermons: *Champion of Faith. The Sermons of John Alexander Dowie*, compiled and edited by Gordon Lindsay, Dallas nd. The most important primary source are the relevant volumes of "Leaves of Healing."

¹¹⁹ Today's members of congregations going back to Dowie frequently report that their parents or other members of that generation moved to Zion after experiencing extraordinary healings in answer to prayer (Int. Grant Sisson 30.3.1986).

¹²⁰ *All the many Zionist Churches in South Africa and beyond trace their origins to Zion/Illinois. For a comprehensive study of all 30 Zionist Churches in Malawi see: Ulf Strohhorn, *The Zionist Churches in Malawi: History – Theology – Anthropology*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2016.

¹²¹ Min. Sudan Pioneer Mission [SUM] 2.11.1903 and additional note. Harries applied to the Colonial Service for work in Nigeria, later he applied again to the SUM, but was rejected.

meetings. Only with pains he signed the Principles and Practice before going to Tripolis.¹²² When he returned from Tripolis he fully joined the Exclusive Brethren and that ended his career as a SUM missionary.¹²³

A similar case can be reported from the British SIM in 1926. Heenan was an adherent of eradicationism, the radical variety of holiness teaching.¹²⁴ Because he held the radical version of an otherwise acceptable doctrine and because of his insistence that he would teach this doctrine, he was rejected by the council.¹²⁵

These three cases are typical: Shand, Harris and Heenan rejected none of the points in the doctrinal statements, and less extreme varieties of their views were very acceptable in the respective missions: A.B. Simpson taught faith healing, much of their interdenominationalism the faith missions had received from the "non-church ecclesiology" of the Brethren, and to see sanctification as the second crisis experience after conversion was common fare in many a mission. But the missions could not accept the extreme varieties of these teachings. The yardstick to decide what was extreme was less dogmatic than practical: If a candidate was unable to agree that differing views might be equally true then those he currently held, he was rejected as an extremist, who would endanger the unity of the mission.

For the faith missions "interdenominational" means cooperation of individuals. There are two exceptions: (1) TEAM, started as "The Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America" by Fredrik Franson sees itself foremost not as coordinating the mission effort of individuals, but of individual

¹²² He was afraid that his signature would oblige him to men instead of to Christ alone who had called him to the Sudan (Min. 17.3.1904).

¹²³ Min. 7th English Council of SUM 17.6.1904.

¹²⁴ The Holiness Movement is discussed in detail in chapter 6.

¹²⁵ "He said he believed in the complete eradication of the old nature, and that this had taken place in his own experience, and further, if accepted he would teach this" (Min. SIM-GB 1926 39). It is interesting that the rejection was not unanimous (40). Bingham, present on a visit from Canada, agreed to the rejection, but pressed the point that such a rejection must not be automatic (41). Heenan had been trained at Birkenhead, the Bible school founded by the holiness evangelist Drysdale, which trained in those years very many WEC missionaries.

congregations, which therefore are represented on the board of TEAM.¹²⁶ (2) Lucy and Karl Kumm intended the SUM to be something like a cooperative effort of the British Free Churches. That effort had limited success, but several Churches agreed to nominate one of the 16 honorary Directors of the SUM.¹²⁷ In another aspect the SUM succeeded: Five of its ten branches are denominational branches.¹²⁸ Such branches, representing the concept of corporate unity, are unique in the faith missions.

The early faith missionaries came from very different denominations indeed, but their differences were smaller than the differences between their denominations may suggest, since they all had a common background in the same revival and very often belonged to a fellowship of some kind which had arisen from it. Typical of this are Samuel Alexander Bill (Qua Iboe Mission) and John McKittrick (Congo Balolo Mission). Both were and remained Presbyterians, but their spiritual home was the (interdenominational) YMCA in Mountpottinger and the (interdenominational) Island Street Mission Hall, Belfast. John Anderson, founder of the Southern Morocco Mission and its first missionaries, Jessie Nairn and her brother Cuthbert, all came from a Scottish revival and fellowship movement, the "Ayreshire Christian Union."¹²⁹ The Gospel Missionary Union, founded in

¹²⁶ Vernon Mortenson, *This is TEAM*, Wheaton 1967, 22. Thus TEAM is one of the very few faith missions in which local churches have a legal position. Cf. article II of the constitution: "...to form a missionary agency representing [local] churches, societies, and individuals."

¹²⁷ The Anglican Church, having through the CMS its own mission in the Sudan, was not asked to nominate an honorary director. But Anglicans played their part in SUM leadership, most notably Prebendary Webb-Peploe, a Keswick leader.

¹²⁸ The interdenominational branches are: Great Britain, South Africa, Australia/New Zealand, Switzerland and France. The denominational branches are: Denmark, Norway (part of Norske Missionsselskab), Christian Reformed Church (USA), Netherlands Reformed Congregations, United Methodists (USA) (*The S.U.M. 75th Jubilee 1904-1979*, London 1979).

¹²⁹ Steele, *Not in Vain* 1981 126. Anderson was ACU's first president. 1892-1914 he was Principal of Glasgow Bible Training Institute (127). For the history of BTI there is only: Glasgow United Evangelistic Association, *Christ in the City 1874-1974*, Glasgow 1974, 6-11.

1892 as World's Gospel Union for the Evangelization of Neglected Fields,¹³⁰ has its roots far more in a revival and fellowship movement, the World's Gospel Union in Kansas, than in the YMCA.¹³¹ Fellowship movements were one result of the revival, other results were "mission halls" (in Britain) or "missions" (their American equivalent) or "the Indre Mission" in Scandinavia.¹³² All this means that it was not the minimal "statement of doctrine" which held the faith missionaries together, but a common revival experience and a common piety deriving from that. And since revivals usually run across denominational boundaries, it is no wonder that the faith missions did.

Interdenominational Concepts

The faith missions developed an intriguing attitude towards the churches. They avoided all non-denominational concepts, which the Brethren, the Churches of Christ or the Apostolic Movement offered. Equally they refused all offers at integration, be it from denominations or from supra denominational organizations. They had to do this, if they wanted to survive. Non-denominational concepts would have made a faith mission into a new denomination, integration would have destroyed the concept of individual

¹³⁰ R.J. Reinmiller, Gospel Missionary Union, Smithville, Missouri. Early History [unpublished] 1964, 1. - The WGU's magazine was "The Gospel Message." George S. Fisher was secretary till he died in 1920. In 1901 the name was changed to Gospel Missionary Union (2). A.E. Bishop was president. R.A. Torrey of Moody Bible Institute was vice-president. For a full list of office bearers see: *The Gospel Message* 1893, 2.

¹³¹ "The movement was the outcome of the special work of grace in gospel and missionary lines carried on by the YMCA in Kansas and the West from 1888 to 1891, and which was so strongly condemned and fought by the International Committee and other prominent leaders in the association work" ("The Gospel Union" in: *The Gospel Message* Oct. 1893,9-10 [9]).

¹³² Cf. Joel A. Carpenter, "Propagating the Faith Once Delivered: The Fundamental Mission Enterprise, 1920-1945" in: Joel A. Carpenter; Wilbert R. Schenk (ed), *Earthen Vessels. American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880-1980*, 92-132 [117-122].

unity, on which the faith missions are based. What attitudes resulted from this towards the sacraments and the offices of the church?¹³³

The Double Concept of Baptism

The faith missions accepted and ignored the churches at the same time. For the faith missions the limits of the [true] church are not defined by baptism, but by individual faith. Baptism was therefore of secondary importance. By accepting both infant baptism and believers' baptism, they chose to ignore for example as much the Anglican concept that baptism can never be repeated as the Baptist conviction that infant baptism just is no baptism. In addition, they accepted the individual's freedom to change from one position to the other: Re-baptism (or believers' baptism of people previously "baptized" as infants, as others would call it) was a matter of individual spiritual development.¹³⁴

This option many of the early faith mission founders had accepted for themselves: Hudson Taylor was (re-)baptized by the Brethren in Hull.¹³⁵ In the early years of the CIM Taylor may have had some problems reconciling the interdenominational character of the mission with his own views on

¹³³ *In my recent articles on Edinburgh 1910 I argue that the conference moved the missionary movement from its revival emphasis on personal faith to a sacramental definition of the church. Klaus Fiedler, "Edinburgh 1910 and the Evangelicals", *Evangelical Theological Review*, 34/4 (Oct 2010). 53-71.

¹³⁴ The most impressive example of such a (re-)baptism may be that of *Malla Moe* who was baptized together with her first convert, John (Mapelepele) Gamede. She changed her theology of baptism after leaving America. But this had no ecclesiological consequences for her, she worked all the years happily with missionaries who held their infant baptism to be valid (Nilsen; Sheetz, *Malla Moe* 67).

¹³⁵ Instrumental in Taylor's change of conviction was Andrew Jukes, a former Anglican deacon who had joined the Brethren in Hull but later left them to form his own congregation there. In Hull Brethren Assembly Hudson Taylor was baptized in 1852. He convinced his sister Amelia of the need for believers' baptism and actually baptized her, a step which she very soon came to regret (A.J. Broomhall, *Over the Treaty Wall*, Sevenoaks/London 1982, 42).

baptism.¹³⁶ After five years' consideration of the issue,¹³⁷ Grattan Guinness was baptized as a believer.¹³⁸ Although he was baptized in a Baptist chapel,¹³⁹ he did not consider this step making him a Baptist. It was simply a matter of personal obedience in faith.¹⁴⁰ Their children were not baptized as infants.¹⁴¹ Both founders of the NAM, George Pearse and Edward Glenny,

¹³⁶ While on the Lammermuir, Mary Bowyer, Jane McLean and Elizabeth Rose felt their infant's baptism no longer to be sufficient, and Hudson Taylor, on their request, baptized them in August 1866 in Anjer/Java (Broomhall, *Survivors' Pact*, Sevenoaks/London 1984, 192f). John Pollock (*Alles besiegt die Liebe*, Gießen/Thun 1972, 180f) puts it that this was due to Taylor's initiative. This seems unlikely since Maria Taylor was a Presbyterian who never doubted the validity of her infant baptism. Pollock also mistakenly mentions that Taylor held the Baptist view on baptism and that members of the crew were also baptized at Anjer. Taylor's report of this day simply reads: "We had to put in at Anjer for water, and having permission from Captain Bell to go ashore, we spent a pleasant day among the tropical beauties of the island; our hearts glad at the prospect of speedily setting our feet on the shores of China" (J. Hudson Taylor, *Brief Account of the Progress of the China Inland Mission, From May 1866 to May 1868*, London 1868).

¹³⁷ During those years he baptized neither infants (doubting the validity) nor believers (himself being not baptized as a believer). See: Grattan Guinness, *A Plea for Believers' Baptism*, London 1860, 4-5, 29.

¹³⁸ "and, never having been baptized, as I consider, aright, I desire this night to conform to the commandment of the Lord Jesus in this matter" (Ibid).

¹³⁹ He preached his own baptismal sermon and had it printed as: Grattan Guinness, *A Plea for Believers' Baptism. An address delivered in Somerset-Street Chapel, Bath, Sept. 29, 1860, previous to his baptism, by the Rev. H. Grattan Guinness of New College, St. John's Wood*, London 1860; Sydney 1861; Dublin 1863 [revised and expanded].

¹⁴⁰ "My baptism, which was performed by one of the ministers of your body [Brethren] in a Baptist Chapel, I never intended or regarded the step, as leaving any one denomination or joining any other, but as an act of simple obedience to Christ" (Grattan Guinness, *A Letter to the "Plymouth Brethren" on the Recognition of Pastors*, London 1863, 5).

¹⁴¹ When their first children were born, Fanny and Grattan Guinness were still Brethren. Harry, Lucy and Geraldine Guinness were baptized on 29.8.1873 in

had accepted believers' baptism before.¹⁴² As a student of Knox College (Canadian Presbyterian Church) A.B. Simpson had received the John Knox Bursary prize for an essay on infant baptism,¹⁴³ in 1881 was baptized again. The way his baptism took place was typical: The pastor of a little Italian mission church baptized him, but no congregation was present, the only witness being the pastor's wife.¹⁴⁴ In arranging his baptism in the way he did, he defined the act as being personal and as having no ecclesiological relevance. Though a Baptist baptized him, he did not become a Baptist either in membership or in thinking. In the New York Gospel Tabernacle, which he started the same year, no children would be baptized, but believers' baptism was no prerequisite for membership, as much as infant baptism was no hindrance to the subsequent believer's baptism of a member of his church.¹⁴⁵ As Grattan Guinness had done, Simpson did: He privatized baptism. The same did A.T. Pierson in 1896: He arranged for his baptism by Dr James A. Spurgeon (brother to the "prince of preachers") in

Edinburgh Castle Mission Hall in Stepney Green by Dr. Barnardo (Kenneth Holmes, *The Cloud Moves*, London ⁵1974, 21).

¹⁴² Glenney originally was an Anglican (Francis Steele, *Not in Vain. The Story of North Africa Mission*, 18).

¹⁴³ A.E. Thompson, *A.B. Simpson. His Life and Work*, Camp Hill 1960, 34. See 37 for Simpson's later views on this matter.

¹⁴⁴ Later he described his experience (in the third person) like this: "It was a bitter autumn day when even the water was cold as ice. No audience present but the wife of the humble evangelist who baptized him, no sympathy from a single human friend, but a consciousness of being utterly alone, misunderstood and condemned even by his dearest friends for an act of eccentric fanaticism that must surely separate him from all the associations of his Christian life and work ... After it was over, he hastily robed himself and threw himself upon his knees and thanked the Lord for the unspeakable privilege of following Him in full obedience into death. No language can ever express the unutterable joy that came sweeping into his soul and spirit as the Master seemed to say, 'You have gone with Me into the death, now you shall come with Me into resurrection'" (A.B. Simpson, *Baptism and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit*, New York 1902, 286, quoted in: Niklaus/Sawin/Stoesz, *All for Jesus* 43).

¹⁴⁵ During the CMA conventions many were baptized, but that did not involve a change of denominational allegiance.

West Croydon Chapel, London, on a Saturday evening in the presence of a few friends.¹⁴⁶ He remained a Presbyterian, though his Presbytery excluded him.¹⁴⁷

When Fredrik Franson was baptized, he became a real Baptist,¹⁴⁸ though not for long. Meeting Moody and/or his church¹⁴⁹ made him divest baptism of much of its ecclesiological importance.¹⁵⁰ Somewhat less far went Rev. and Mrs Blocher, the pastors of the independent Tabernacle Church in Paris. For their church baptism was of necessity believers' baptism, but they did not stipulate that for the Mission Biblique (Côte d'Ivoire) they founded.¹⁵¹ Edgar Mahon, founder of the Mahon Mission (Zion, Illinois), discussed the issue of baptism during a ride on horseback with his wife's stepbrother. Being convinced, he was baptized as soon as they found enough water at the roadside.¹⁵²

There was hardly any faith mission leader who practised infant baptism. Alma Doering was not rebaptized (at least not during her active missionary career),¹⁵³ but she cooperated most closely with Mennonites and Baptist type "Fundamentalists."¹⁵⁴ Spencer Walton (SAGM) remained an Anglican,

¹⁴⁶ Delavan L. Pierson, *Arthur T. Pierson* 263.

¹⁴⁷ On 6.4.1896 his Presbytery informed him that because of his changed views on baptism he could no longer be its member. But Pierson never joined any other denomination (Delavan Leonard Pierson, *Arthur T. Pierson*, London 1912, 268f).

¹⁴⁸ His baptism joined him to Estina Swedish Baptist Church (Paul H. Sheetz, *The Sovereign Hand*, Wheaton 1971, 17; Edvard Torjesen, *A Study of Fredrik Franson* 42-44.)

¹⁴⁹ There are no sources available to show what exactly caused his views on baptism to change (Edvard Torjesen, *A Study of Fredrik Franson* 47ff).

¹⁵⁰ This position is held by the Free Evangelical Churches.

¹⁵¹ Int. M. Maré 28.8.1986.

¹⁵² William Burton, *When God Makes a Missionary. The Life Story of Edgar Mahon*, Zion 1961[1936], 22. This happened after he had been healed from tuberculosis.

¹⁵³ Int. Louisa Howard 21.2.1986.

¹⁵⁴ The early center of this kind of Fundamentalist group was the Grand Rapids Auxiliary of the Congo Inland Mission. When the UTM dissolved itself in America, the Congo Inland Mission was willing to take over all stations, but for the majority

but was never ordained.¹⁵⁵ Ludwig Doll, Neukirchen, did baptize infants, but fervently preached that without conversion baptism was useless.¹⁵⁶

In theory, believers' baptism and infant baptism were accepted by the faith missions as equal. Though there are no statistics available to me, the impression is that the majority of the early faith missionaries were (only) baptized as children. But this was definitely not true of their leaders. This makes it understandable that on the mission field the faith missions showed a clear tendency towards believers' baptism. Beyond that, even in the ranks of the missionaries, there seems to have been a tendency towards growing prominence, but by no means dominance, of believers' baptism, because in many countries the "old-line" denominations decline, and in other countries fellowship movements turn themselves into Free Churches with a tendency to believers' baptism, a typical case being the Svenska Alliansmissionen.¹⁵⁷ Another reason for this shift is the increasing role of the independent congregations, most of which practise believers' baptism.¹⁵⁸

The Concept of the Delegated Lord's Table

That the Lord's Table can equally be the expression of Christian unity as of Christian disunity, the faith missions may have learned from the history of the Brethren: According to Darby (and in this he held a position shared by the Catholic Church and the Anglican Church of his time), those who

of the UTM missionaries the CoIM was not Fundamentalist enough and so they joined the Baptist Mid Mission, which had started as a faith missions in the 1920 (Mid-Africa Mission) but meanwhile had turned itself into a Baptist fundamentalist mission.

¹⁵⁵ After his conversion he joined the Brethren, but most probably was never baptized by them.

¹⁵⁶ Ulrich Affeld, *Er mache uns im Glauben kühn. 100 Jahre Neukirchner Mission*, Wuppertal, 1978.

¹⁵⁷ Int. NN, Svenska Alliansmissionen 16.6.1986.

¹⁵⁸ Somewhat unusual is (Lutheran type) Bethany Church in Minneapolis, base of the Bethany Fellowship, with infant baptism as the norm (Int. 14.3.1986). Independent congregations which practise both types of baptism side by side are rare, Wheaton College Bible Church being an example (Int. John Gratton 20.3.1986).

[corporately] agreed in doctrine could share in the Lord's Table, whereas for Müller and with him the Independent (Open) Brethren [individual] faith in Christ was the only precondition.¹⁵⁹ Because of their interdenominational character, the faith missions placed little practical emphasis on the Lord's Table, but for the same reason they could not ignore it either. Therefore, they did what so many revival and fellowship movements had done before: They delegated holy communion to the churches. This the fellowship movements had done, although they often severely criticized these same churches, counting many of its pastors as unbelievers. Still they entrusted these pastors, too, with the administration of the sacraments.

In delegating the Lord's Table to the churches, the faith missions preserved their unity and effectiveness, but at the same time accepted (and ignored) doctrines, which they were no party to: They were not convinced of the Anglican insistence on apostolic succession, nor of the (then still commonly held) Baptist conviction, that only those baptized as believers may share the Lord's table, nor did they agree to the Lutheran practice to admit all confirmed Christians to communion irrespective of their individual faith. Since the faith missions were convinced that baptism and confirmation without personal faith do not make a Christian, it would have been logical for them to admit only believers to communion, but the strength of the faith missions is that their ecclesiology is not logical. They felt it to be more important to put all their efforts into the main job of the church to reach those without the Gospel, than to define minor dogmatic points like the sacraments.

¹⁵⁹ This policy of basing admission to fellowship only on faith in Christ was formulated in connection with the Plymouth/Bethesda controversy as "The Tottenham Statement" (Coad, *History of the Brethren* 301). It reads in part: "3. We welcome to the table, on individual grounds, each saint, not because he or she is a member of this or that gathering or denomination of Christians nor because they are followers of any particular Christian leader, but on such testimony as commends itself to us as being sufficient. 4. We distinctly refuse to be parties to any exclusion of those who, we are satisfied, are believers - except on grounds personally applying to their individual faith and conduct. - Adopted by Brethren at Tottenham the 4th of March 1849 (Quoted in Coad, *History of the Brethren* 301).

Ordination of the Pierced Hands

None of the early CIM missionaries was ordained. That was typical for the first phase of the faith missions. There were several reasons: For someone who had studied so long for the ministry, the faith missions seemed to offer little reward, compared to a British benefice. Maybe more important was the fact that they usually recruited their personell from groups in which ordination was not so important: Brethren and Quaker knew no ordination, the fellowships delegated it to the churches. Baptists practised ordination, but with them ordination conveyed no rights which a "lay" Baptist had not. Moreover, as the faith missions tried to utilize the neglected forces, it can be assumed that these usually were not ordained.¹⁶⁰ In addition, some of the great evangelists, the shining lights of the revival, were never ordained: Neither Radcliffe nor Spurgeon, nor Müller nor Moody, nor Major Whittle, who so strongly influenced Pierson and Simpson.

C.T. Studd bluntly expressed the faith mission attitude thus: "I have not much faith in any but God's ordination which comes through such channels as He pleases."¹⁶¹ A.B. Simpson stated: "We need no ordination. Ordination by the Holy Spirit is sufficient."¹⁶² This he said, himself being ordained and having ordained missionaries himself.¹⁶³ The Southern Morocco Mission, having no ordained missionary, argued with the supremacy of conversion: "Will those whom God honours in the conversion of souls not be warranted to receiving them into church fellowship? Or would it be better that they

¹⁶⁰ The classical missions also trained men who would not have become pastors in their churches, but this training led to ordination, though sometimes to an ordination that was valid only on the mission field.

¹⁶¹ Walker, *Fool and Fanatic?* 114. [The letter is undated, probably 1913].

¹⁶² A.B. Simpson, "New Testament Missionary Types, Sermon on Philemon 17 during a Nyack Convention on 29.7.1906" in: Simpson, *Missionary Messages* 48.

¹⁶³ The first to be ordained by the CMA was the Canadian William Cassidy (Reynolds, *Footprints* 458).

should remain in their sins, rather than plan admission into the church of Christ by the hands of unauthorized laymen?"¹⁶⁴

With all this it is clear that the missionaries were convinced of being ordained. One of the favourite hymn verses of one of the founders of the Egypt General Mission reads:¹⁶⁵

Christ, the Son of God, hath sent me
Through the midnight lands;
Mine the mighty ordination
Of the pierced hands.

The biographer of Spencer Walton takes up the same motive, when he says of Spencer Walton, that he had no ordination except "the mighty ordination of the pierced hands."¹⁶⁶

The verse quoted and alluded to is from a poem on Paul in a volume of poetry, edited by Frances Bevan, featuring mainly German mystical poets.¹⁶⁷ As the faith missionaries usually appreciated Mysticism, it can be assumed that they appreciated this poem, too. But this poem, signed C.P.C., was not written by a German mystic, but by the editor of the book herself.¹⁶⁸ This shows another reason for the appreciation of this poem: Frances Bevan belonged to the Brethren, and using mystical language, Frances Bevan formulates how Brethren understood ordination: Being called by Christ needs no human approval, only divine confirmation.

¹⁶⁴ *The Reaper* 1888, quoted in: Francis Steele, *Not in Vain. The Story of North Africa Mission*, 129.

¹⁶⁵ Douglas D. Porter, *At Thy Disposal. The Beginnings of the Egypt General Mission*, London 1934, 2.

¹⁶⁶ George E. Weeks, *W. Spencer Walton*, London/Edinburgh/New York, nd, 41.

¹⁶⁷ Frances Bevan, *Hymns of Ter Steegen, Suso and Others*, London 1894.

¹⁶⁸ Frances Bevan followed the custom of the early Brethren authors to sign with initials only. But she did not sign with her own initials but with the initials of the place where she wrote the poem. This was written in Chalet Passiflora, Cannes [C.P.C.] (John S. Andrews, "Frances Bevan: Translator of German Hymns" in: *Evangelical Quarterly* 1962, 206-213; 1963, 30-38 [208]; Andrew Walls - Fiedler 4.2.1988).

The faith missions did not feel ordination (by men) to be important, but they did not oppose it either, as long as those ordained would not require special treatment. To make this sure, Hudson Taylor forbade mentioning of titles when giving the names of missionaries.¹⁶⁹ Other missions were less reluctant, sometimes they seem to have been glad to gain some respectability by publishing titles. Beyond publicity, it was difficult to convince an American railway line that a missionary needed no ordination but was nevertheless entitled to the greatly reduced pastors' fare. Even greater problems arose in certain countries when a missionary was to conduct a wedding. In such a case even C.T. Studd realized that he was ordained indeed, namely by Moody and Torrey during a Northfield Convention before returning to China.¹⁷⁰ It did not matter to him (nor to the Belgian colonial officers) that Moody constantly had refused to be ordained¹⁷¹ and Torrey also never underwent this rite.¹⁷² When necessary, Studd provided even two ordinations,¹⁷³ the first by Reginald Radcliffe¹⁷⁴, one of the evangelists of the 1859 revival, who also constantly refused to be ordained.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁹ Moira J. McKay, *Faith and Facts* 121.

¹⁷⁰ He reports on the wedding of his daughter Edith to Alfred Buxton: "The service was sweet, and not over long. My ordination - that of D.L. Moody and Dr Torrey - was the authority for the performance of the religious ceremony" (Norman Grubb, *C.T. Studd. Cricketeer and Pioneer*, London 1933).

¹⁷¹ He refused to be ordained because he wanted to remain free from all denominations (Flood, *The Story of Moody Church* 9).

¹⁷² Roger Martin, *R. A. Torrey*, Murfreesboro, 1976, 47.

¹⁷³ Walker, *Fool and Fanatic?* 114.

¹⁷⁴ (1825-1890). See: Jane Radcliffe, *Recollections of Reginald Radcliffe. By his Wife*, London nd [ca. 1896].

¹⁷⁵ Walker, *Fool and Fanatic?* [undated letter, after 1913, answering a Mr C. who did not doubt the success of his work but had doubts if Studd was entitled to ordain deacons and elders. - When someone suggested to Reginald Radcliffe to become ordained, "his curt and emphatic reference in his correspondence to this proposal was, 'I hope, never!'" (Jane Radcliffe, *Recollections* 49). To this he stuck till his death.

A Different Concept of Unity in Africa

In Africa the faith missions could not employ the same concept of the church as in Europe or in America, simply because where the missionaries started their work there were no denominations the faith missions could accept and ignore as was their practice in the West, and there were also no churches to whom to delegate baptism, communion and marriages. This also meant that the faith missions had to develop a new concept of Christian unity. They had to define their unity with the neighbouring missions, be they classical or not. This they did by accepting the concept of "mission comity": Unity not by accepting competing ecclesiologies, but by territorial delineations. Every mission, classical or post-classical, had its own area. Whenever these territories approached each other, borders were agreed upon. This was usually done with the support of the colonial administration, sometimes even on its demand.

Unity through Geographical Separation: Comity

Comity means mutual acceptance on the condition of organizational separation, which primarily meant geographic separation.¹⁷⁶ Comity was devised to avoid duplications and by doing so to evangelize more effectively the many unreached areas of the globe.¹⁷⁷ As soon as the missions had spread into more or less all areas that could be reached, comity served mainly to avoid competition.¹⁷⁸

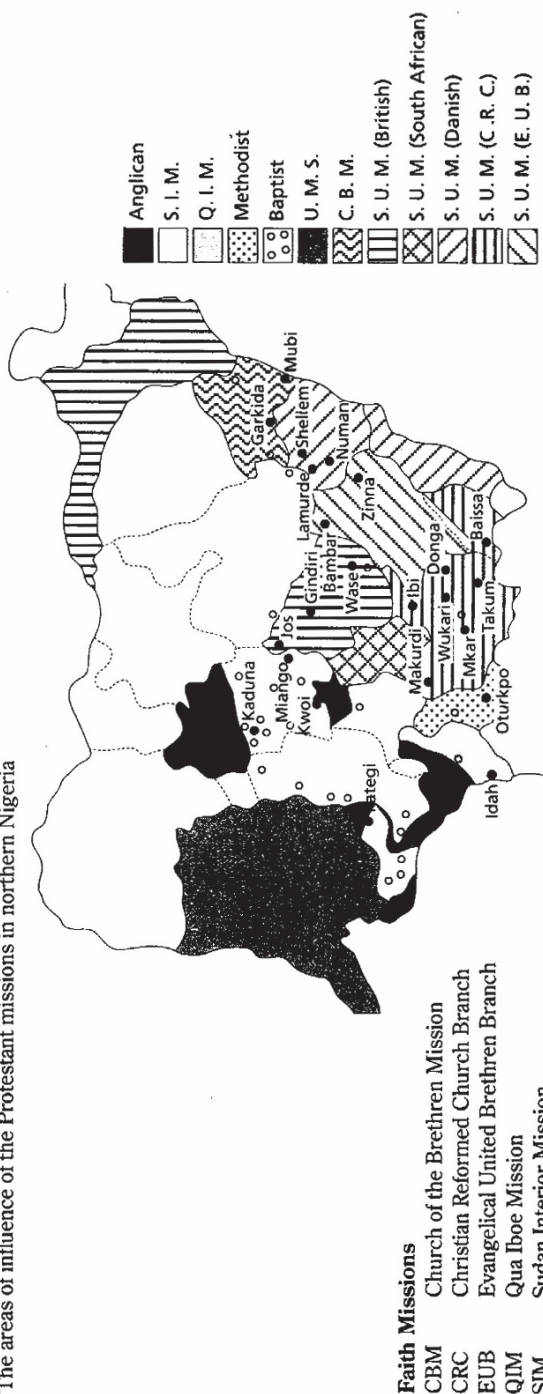
¹⁷⁶ The standard book on the comity principle is: R. Pierce Beaver, *Ecumenical Beginnings in Protestant World Mission. A History of Comity*, New York/Edinburgh/Toronto 1962.

¹⁷⁷ With this purpose in mind A.T. Pierson supported worldwide comity (*MRW* 1885, 368ff, 464ff).

¹⁷⁸ Cf. William R. Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations. A History of the International Missionary Council and its Nineteenth Century Background*, New York 1952, 33f. - This met with criticism already in 1898: "While the old denominations have much to say about missionary 'comity' and resent infringement on each other's territory, these informal evangelizers have little to say about mine and thine, but rather rejoice in whoever may spread the glad tidings" (Chapell, *The Eleventh-Hour Laborers* 56).

Comity agreements in northern Nigeria

The areas of influence of the Protestant missions in northern Nigeria



The second, but far less important aspect of comity was unification. Around 1910 there were serious attempts to start United (Native) Churches at least in Nigeria, Kenya⁸⁷⁴ and Central Africa (Malawi and neighbours). The (unworkable) idea was to create a native church uniting all, without including the European people into that unity and without solving any theological problems. The concept failed, and instead of producing a united church the negotiations produced missionary cooperation (councils etc). For Malawi the outcome was a united Presbyterian (only) Church, the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP).⁸⁷⁵

Neighbouring missions agreed to employ the same standards for admission to Holy Communion or for employment as evangelists. Sometimes they agreed to use a common catechism,⁸⁷⁶ in Zaire they even created a common transferable church membership.⁸⁷⁷ Often all this did not happen, comity meant to accept each other's members, and not to employ any other

⁸⁷⁴ * Julius Githogo, The Early Attempts at Ecumenical Co-operation in East Africa: the Case of the Kikuyu Conference of 1913, *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, vol 36, Oct 2010, 73-96 Please note that the author mixes up CMS and UMCA.

⁸⁷⁵ *If the CCAP was (and is) a united church or five cooperating churches is the key issue in: Rhodian Munyenyebe, The History of the CCAP as a Federative Denomination in Malawi (1924 - 2010), Free State University, 2016. With different assumptions the issue is also discussed in C.W. Mapala, Ethnicity and Christianity. A Historical Study of the Border Dispute between the Livingstonia and Nkhoma Synods of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (1875-2015), University of KwaZulu Natal, 2016.

⁸⁷⁶ In Northern Nigeria this was done by the SUM deciding to use the CMS catechism (Min. SUM 5.10.1911).

⁸⁷⁷ In Zaire all Protestant missions even created a unified and transferable church membership with in the "Église du Christ au Congo," which legally did not even exist (R. Pierce Beaver, *Ecumenical Beginnings* 187). When the Zairean government forced all Protestant churches to unite to form the Église du Christ au Zaire, it looked - though it wasn't - just like a continuation of the former "Église du Christ au Congo."

mission's employee⁸⁷⁸ without first receiving that mission's agreement.⁸⁷⁹ Sometimes comity also meant cooperation in areas like bible translation, education or publishing. Of the three aspects: separation, unification and cooperation, the first was definitely the most important.

For the missions comity was of advantage: There was no need to settle theological differences. Each mission could accord to the other equality, but did not need to practise it. Anglicans could recognize the Disciples of Christ's "sphere of influence" without needing to accept or deny the validity of their ordinations. Baptist could admit travelling Anglicans to the Lord's table, without needing to decide if believers' baptism was really the necessary precondition. Comity made it possible for the various missions to accept theological pluralism without feeling the pains of having differing and sometimes contradicting theologies in one church.

As reason for such a concept of comity very often the pious intention was given of saving the Africans from the "unfortunate divisions" of Western

⁸⁷⁸ Here financial considerations played a major role. Competition might cause salaries to go up: This was the complaint of the Church of Scotland Mission against Booth and his Zambezi Industrial Mission: "He is enticing our Mission boys to join his mission by the offer of enormously increased wages ... He sent our printing boys a circular showing his increased rates of pay ... Two have gone to him who were our church members and were asked by him to be re-baptized. You can imagine what all this means in a small community such as ours ... There is a great and immense indignation among the European community at Booth's attitude. He is ruining the labour question by his preposterous wages (Alexander Hetherwick in: Church of Scotland Mission Board Record xix, 27 [quoted in John Selfridge, Booth 38]). - This principle was also applied to missionaries changing their allegiance. When almost all American WEC missionaries decided to join AIM, they were only accepted after WEC had agreed (DHC - Pierson 28.6.1926).

⁸⁷⁹ "Care should be taken for better co-operation in church discipline between neighbouring missions. When members or teachers apply to be received into another communion information should always be sought from the communion from which they have come, with a view to the maintenance of discipline" (Recommendations and Resolutions, Le Zoute Conference in: Edwin W. Smith, *The Christian Mission in Africa. A Study Based on the Proceedings of the International Conference at Le Zoute, Belgium, September 14th to 21st, 1926*, 109).

Christianity, which for Africans were so meaningless. But the result of comity was not to wipe out the divisions for the Africans, but to cement them. The pattern had been employed already after the 30 Years' War, when the Augsburg Peace Treaty ruled: *Cuius regio, eius religio*. For the Africans the difference was not that great: Their denomination was not decided upon by the territorial princes, but by the territorial agreements of the various missions, backed up sometimes by the worldly rulers of the country.

For the colonial administrators mission comity usually was quite convenient, it helping to spread evenly the social benefits of the missions like schools and hospitals. But sometimes it turned out counterproductive for the Africans concerned, when a mission refused to provide the schools it was expected to establish or when it was slack in raising the quality of education.⁸⁸⁰ Sometimes the administration even used the comity principle in a way the Protestant missions did not like by including the Catholics⁸⁸¹ or even the Muslims, as it happened in Sudan.⁸⁸²

The faith missions had not devised the comity principle, but it suited them well: Like at home they could accept the existing churches and at the same time ignore them. If they ran into problems with comity, this was not

⁸⁸⁰ For this reason, the people of Wamba Luemba in Eastern Zaire forced the fundamentalist BMM missionaries to leave.

⁸⁸¹ A case for this are the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro with neighbouring ridges being either Lutheran or Catholic. The Chagga had their share in this process, too: J.C. Winter, "The Chagga Contribution to the Denominational Partition of Kilimanjaro" in: Niels Peter Moritzen; J.C. Winter (eds), *Ostafrikanische Völker zwischen Mission and Regierung*, Erlangen 1982. - In Zaire the Belgians allowed a choice between Catholic and Protestant, only caring that their missions were not too close to each other.

⁸⁸² According to this concept of comity the Christians were not to evangelize in the Muslim zone, but they were allowed to follow up Christians who had moved into this area. When Samuel Ali Hissein in 1900 started the work of the Sudan-Pionier-Mission, the colonial government had still allowed him to work among Muslims (Min. SPM 25.10.1900).

because they did not support the principle.⁸⁸³ Problems with comity were local ones. The Qua Iboe Mission in Nigeria provides an early example. The QIM had started its work east of the Niger Delta at the mouth of the Qua Iboe. The QIM saw the claims of Bishop James Johnson of the Niger Delta Pastorate to the area of Essene and Opobo as endangering its northward expansion, and they were also convinced that the Niger Delta Pastorate⁸⁸⁴ would not do effective missionary work in those areas.⁸⁸⁵

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Egypt felt threatened by the Sudan-Pionier-Mission in Aswan. In 1913 the American Board, with the help of the German missiologist Julius Richter, negotiated a comity agreement with the SPM which hindered it from extending its work from the Nubian into the Arabic area of Egypt.⁸⁸⁶

Sometimes the faith missions felt threatened by their neighbours. The Congo Balolo Mission had little problem signing a comity-agreement with the akin Mission Évangélique de l'Ubangi [Evangelical Free Church of Ame-

⁸⁸³ A typical case was Gabon. Since 1843 the Paris Mission was working on the banks and north of the Ogowe. In the 1920s the CMA wanted to evangelize the unreached areas of Southern Gabon. They inquired from the Paris Mission, whose secretary recommended that the CMA should wait a few years and first expand in West Africa. When after some years the Paris Mission felt unable to expand southwards, they "handed over" the area to the CMA (CMA Missionary Atlas 1960, 44-51, with detailed map; Etienne Kruger, *Histoire de la Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris* in: Blanc; Blocher; Kruger; *Histoire des Missions Protestantes Françaises*, Flavion 1970, 157-169, with sketch map).

⁸⁸⁴ For the history of the Niger Delta Pastorates see: E.A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914. A Political and Social Analysis*, London 1966, 221-238. Bishop Johnson's picture is on 236/7. (Ayandele wrongly classifies QIM as a Congregationalist mission [115]).

⁸⁸⁵ Private Notes by R.L. McKeown on Visit to Qua Iboe, March 1909 (D 3301/CC/1).

⁸⁸⁶ Edfu was to be the northern limit of SPM territory, in Cairo they were to work only among Nubians (Min. SPM 17.10.1913).

Comity borders prescribed by the colonial government



rica],⁸⁸⁷ but it had problems in reaching an agreement with the less akin Disciples of Christ Congo Mission.⁸⁸⁸ The same year (1893), when the NigerDelta Pastorate felt threatened by the Qua Iboe Mission, QIM in turn felt threatened by a newcomer, the Primitive Methodist Mission. It had started its work at the coast between QIM and United Free Church of Scotland, spread northwards faster than QIM,⁸⁸⁹ thus effectively limiting the Qua Iboe Mission to the area south of Umuahia.⁸⁹⁰

In spite of local problems here and there, neither the faith missions nor the classical missions questioned the comity principle, at least not until World War II. Differing from the faith missions, later some non-denominational and Pentecostal missions were not willing to enter into comity agreements, for example in Burundi. But Zaire with its plurality of classical missions, faith

⁸⁸⁷ Min. Congo Balolo Mission Field Conference at Ikau 9.-18.10.1930, No. 34. - Titus M. Johnson, went from Sweden to the United States to study medicine. In 1918 he joined AIM, which he left in 1922 to find for his denomination a mission field where no Protestant mission worked yet (Cecilia Irvine, *The Church of Christ in Zaire* 95).

⁸⁸⁸ Ibid., expresses the necessity, the "accompanying letter" (field council - London HQ) reports DCCM [Disciples of Christ Congo Mission] incursions into Congo Balolo Mission territory: "They have come into CBM villages, in some cases placing teachers and in other cases baptizing large numbers of natives without any reference to us.") The Yuli elders reported that eight villages from DCCM territory had applied to them for a teacher as they would not get one from DCCM (Report of two elders from Yuli, enclosure to Min. Field Conference at Ikau 9.-18.10.1930).

⁸⁸⁹ E.A. Udo, "The Missionary Scramble for Spheres of Influence in South-eastern Nigeria 1900-52" in: O.U. Kalu (ed), *The History of Christianity in West Africa*, Harlow ²1981(1980), 159-181. The presentation is very detailed, no QIM primary sources were used, but very many Methodist primary sources which also contain QIM letters.

⁸⁹⁰ Only in 1930 QIM dared to start a new field further north, in Igala ("Edmund T. Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*" in: Ogbu Kalu, *Christianity in West Africa. The Nigerian Story*, Ibadan 1978, 141, 161).

missions, non-denominational, denominational evangelical and Pentecostal missions had an extremely well-functioning comity system.⁸⁹¹

Comity, so well meaning, was full of paternalism. Men are divided into two groups: One group for whom centuries of church history did not suffice to sort out certain theological issues and the other group which must be spared from these same problems, not by the missions solving the problems, but by shielding them from these problems. African reaction to the comity principle was not always the same, but usually the reaction was negative. Africans gladly availed themselves of the positive aspects, for example when travelling. But they did not like much the idea that in any given location there should be allowed to exist only one Protestant church. Equally the missions were not happy about losing their followers who moved into the towns to the denomination which happened to be there first. This problem was then solved by declaring the big towns "open territory," to where every mission could follow its church members to look after them.⁸⁹²

The missionaries believed in religious freedom, but comity denied it to Africans: They had the freedom to become Christians or not. Often, they could choose between Catholic or Protestant, but comity made it impossible to choose between Protestant denominations, unless they moved house to the territory of the church of their choice or moved into a big town.

⁸⁹¹ "Probably no field demonstrates better than Congo that comity in spirit and practice has been a fundamental part of the Protestant mission system and that it is the basis on which active cooperation developed" (Beaver, *Ecumenical Beginnings* 187).

⁸⁹² Today 27 of the 62 Communautés of the Église du Christ au Zaïre [ECZ] work in Kinshasa (Nsafu Mbodo, *La Communauté Évangélique de l'Alliance au Zaïre*, grad theol Kinshasa University, 1984, 10).

COMITY IN BURUNDI



Chapter 7: Power for Service: The Faith Missions and the Holiness Movement¹

The doctrinal statements of the faith missions only formulate the minimum consensus on central theological issues and therefore are insufficient to describe positively the theology of a given mission. As a minimum consensus these statements of faith show that in the faith missions very different concepts of holiness may be accommodated.

The first "Principles and Practice" of the China Inland Mission (1867) contain no statement of faith yet, and even the "Principles and Practice" of 1885, in which the "fundamental truths" are described as "the inspiration of the Scriptures, the Trinity, the fall of man, and his state by nature, the atonement, the eternal salvation of the redeemed and the everlasting punishment of the lost," contain no hint to the doctrine of holiness.² Only the "Principles and Practice" of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (successor to CIM) of 1966 demand that candidates describe their concept of holiness and (as with all other major issues) note if they are "conscious that their views differ in any important respect from those usually held by evangelical Christians."³

In the doctrinal statements of most other faith missions we equally find only very general statements of the doctrine of holiness. The Regions Beyond Missionary Union demands faith in "the work of the Holy Spirit in the

¹ In this book the Holiness Movement is treated only in as far as it was connected to the faith missions. The standard bibliographies are: Charles Edwin Jones, *A Guide to the Study of the Holiness Movement*, Metuchen NJ 1974; Melvin E. Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century*, Metuchen 1980; Charles Edwin Jones, *Perfectionist Persuasion: The Holiness Movement and American Methodism, 1867-1936*, Metuchen 1974. All three books contain also much valuable historical information.

² CIM, *Principles and Practice*, London 1885.

³ Overseas Missionary Fellowship, *Principles and Practice* 1966, Section 6B "Doctrinal Belief."

conversion and sanctification of the sinner."⁴ The constitution of the Unevangelized Fields Mission simply speaks of "faith in the imperative necessity and full sufficiency of the atoning sacrifice of Christ, and the regenerating and sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit."⁵ The Zambezi Mission teaches "that the evidence of the new life should be manifested by a daily walk in the Spirit."⁶ The Gospel Missionary Union stresses that "we believe in the sonship of all born-again believers in the family of God, their justification, sanctification, and eternal redemption being fully provided for and assured in the finished work of Christ on Calvary and in his continued intercession above."⁷ TEAM teaches that the Holy Spirit will "indwell, guide, instruct, fill, and empower the believer for godly living and service."⁸

Some faith missions did not formulate a doctrinal statement of their own but accepted the "basis" of the Evangelical Alliance as the expression of their understanding of the faith.⁹ Its statement on holiness reads: "[We believe in] The work of the Holy Spirit in the Conversion and Sanctification of the sinner." This accommodates both views of holiness, seeing it as a process of growth or as a crisis experience. Since many of the founders of the Evangelical Alliance were influenced by the early Holiness Movement, this ambivalence of expression was probably intended.¹⁰

Only very few faith missions explicitly demanded adherence to a concept of holiness as propagated by the Holiness Movement. The best example for

⁴ Principles and Practice of the Regions Beyond Missionary Union, Revised Edition, May, 1956.

⁵ UFM Constitution, nd, valid in the 1930s.

⁶ Zambezi Mission, Principles and Practice, Revised Edition 1946.

⁷ Gospel Missionary Union Handbook, nd [valid 1987].

⁸ TEAM, Principles and Practice, nd [valid 1987], 5.

⁹ For example, the Africa Industrial Mission (even today's doctrinal statement of the SIM does not deal with holiness: SIM Manual 1986 [1984] 4). The Dorothea Mission (South Africa) instead uses the similar doctrinal statement of the InterVarsity Fellowship. On holiness it demands faith in "the indwelling and work of the Holy Spirit in the believer" (*Some Vital Facts about the Dorothea Mission*, Rosslyn nd [valid 1987] 8).

¹⁰ Melvin E. Dieter, *Holiness Revival* 38.

this is the World Gospel Mission which, in the year of its foundation (1910), defined sanctification clearly as a definite and sudden work of the Spirit.¹¹ In a similar fashion the Christian and Missionary Alliance defines sanctification as a crisis experience followed by a process of growth.¹² These detailed definitions of holiness limit the membership of these missions to those who can subscribe to these "Wesleyan" concepts and it resulted in the fact that these missions are somewhat at the fringe of the American faith missions community. They cannot be members of the more Calvinist IFMA (Interdenominational Foreign Missions Association) but only of EFMA (Evangelical Foreign Missions Association), which has a broader theological base and is home mainly to denominational evangelical missions.

The Africa Evangelistic Band speaks in its doctrinal statement of the "victorious life." The term already makes clear the close relation to the Holiness Movement.¹³ In the doctrinal statement of the Africa Evangelical Fellowship

¹¹ "Relative to the doctrine and experience of entire sanctification: Entire sanctification is that act of divine grace, through the baptism with the Holy Ghost, by which the heart is cleansed from all sin and filled with the pure love of God. It is a definite and sudden work wrought in the believer, through faith, subsequent to regeneration, and is attested by the Holy Ghost" (World Gospel Mission, Statement of Doctrine, 1910). Today's formula is: "We believe in the salvation of the human soul, including the new birth, and in a subsequent work of God in the soul, a crisis, wrought by faith, whereby the heart is cleansed from all sin and filled with the Holy Spirit. This gracious experience is retained by faith as expressed in a constant obedience to God's revealed will, thus giving us perfect cleansing moment by moment (1 John 1,7-9). We stand for the Wesleyan position." (World Gospel Mission, Reaching the Unreached Now [information sheet]).

¹² "It is the will of God that each believer should be filled with the Holy Spirit and be sanctified wholly, being separated from sin and the world and fully dedicated to the will of God, thereby receiving power for holy living and effective service. This is both a crisis and a progressive experience in the life of the believer subsequent to conversion" (Statement of Faith adopted by the 68th General Council of the Christian and Missionary Alliance).

¹³ "[AEB believes] in deliverance from sin's power, heart cleansing, and the fullness of the Holy Spirit as a definite experience by faith, resulting in a life of victory and fruitfulness through the indwelling Christ" (Africa Evangelistic Band Prayer Fellowship 1987 3). For AEB in general see Jones, *Holiness Movement* 388f.

we just find the general statement that the work of the Holy Spirit is the only way to regeneration and sanctification and that there is "full provision for holiness in Christ Jesus."¹⁴ More openly 'holiness' is the aim of the mission "to preach the gospel to every creature and to teach scriptural holiness."¹⁵

Since the faith missions' statements of faith only represent a minimal theological consensus, the results of this investigation are misleading. More correct results can be expected from an historical analysis of the relationship of the various faith missions to the various strands of the Holiness Movement. Before this will be attempted further below in this chapter, history and theology of the Holiness Movement and its component parts must be discussed briefly.

The Holiness Movement¹⁶

Wesleyan Roots

At the base of the Holiness Movement is John Wesley's (1703-1791) concept of sanctification. He saw sanctification as a work of divine grace,

¹⁴ AEF, Fellowship, Organisation and Administration, Reading 1985, 5f. The formula can be interpreted differently but is definitely a formulation of the Holiness Movement.

¹⁵ "Scriptural holiness" is also the defined aim of the Keswick Conferences.

¹⁶ The development of separate "holiness denominations" in the USA and the conflict with the Pentecostal Movement (which originated in the Holiness Movement) which started in 1906 and has not fully subsided yet brought about a change in terminology: "Holiness Movement" is used by some only to describe the more extreme varieties. In the second half of the 19th century that was different: To strive for sanctification as more or less a crisis experience distinct from justification and conversion took on different forms, and there were different tendencies, some more Calvinistic, some less. One could speak of different varieties of the Holiness Movement, but between these different strands there were no clear delineations. In this book the term "Holiness Movement" always denotes the broader movement.

following after conversion and being clearly distinct from it.¹⁷ Like conversion, sanctification is a clearly datable crisis experience, but this does not exclude that this crisis experience may be the culmination of a possibly long development. This crisis experience is an experience open to all Christians, but most do not reach it.¹⁸ For this crisis experience Wesley used different names interchangeably: "Entire sanctification," "being made perfect in love" or "Christian perfection," even "sinless perfection,"¹⁹ a term by which he took up again the concept of "pure love."²⁰ To understand Wesley's concept of holiness better, it must be clear that, theologically, Wesley was not a Calvinist, but an Arminian. While in classical Calvinism justification of the sinner is due alone to the action of God's grace,²¹ with man having no free will, and holiness being a gradual process with human will playing the major role, Arminianism understands justification as a process in which divine grace and human will "cooperate" and sanctification as a sudden gift of divine grace, for which man can prepare himself, though.²²

¹⁷ The best source for his teaching on sanctification is: John Wesley, "A Plain Account of Christian Perfection, as believed and taught by the Reverend Mr. John Wesley" in: John Wesley [ed. Wesleyan Conference Office], *The Works of Rev. John Wesley*. With the last corrections of the author, London ³1872 vol. 11, 66-446.

¹⁸ Cf. Salvation Army, *Heritage of Holiness* 66.

¹⁹ In order not to misunderstand Wesley's term "perfection," it is important to be aware of his definition of sin: sin is the conscious transgression of a known divine law. For Wesley's concept of sin cf. Salvation Army, *Heritage of Holiness* 65.

²⁰ "Entire sanctification or Christian perfection is neither more nor less than pure love; love expelling sin, and governing both the heart and life of a child of God. The Refiner's fire purges out all that is contrary to love" (Thomas Jackson [ed], *The Works of John Wesley*, Grand Rapids 1959 XII, 432).

²¹ For a modern version of the doctrine of predestination from a section of Presbyterianism close to the faith missions see: Paul K. Jewett, *Election and Predestination*, Grand Rapids/Exeter 1985. Jewett is professor at Fuller School of Theology in Pasadena, closely related to the Fuller School of World Missions.

²² In the 17th century Arminianism was a Dutch theological protest movement against the rigorous Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. It found expression in the "Remonstrantie" of 1610. The Synod of Dordrecht (1618-1619) rejected all five points of the "Remonstrantie." Anglo-Saxon Arminianism does not stand in direct

The Origins of the Holiness Movement

The Holiness Movement²³ of the 19th century can be seen as a reaction against the decline of holiness teaching after Wesley's death. It is not possible to date the beginning exactly. But it is a good option to take the holiness experiences of the sisters Sarah Lankford (1806-1896)²⁴ and Phoebe Palmer (1807-1875)²⁵ in Boston in 1835 as the starting point of this spiritual renewal movement. Although Sarah Lankford's holiness expe-

historical continuity to Dutch Arminianism but shares its rejection of predestination. The classical teaching of Calvinism is formulated in the "tulip": Total depravity, unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace, perseverance of the saints. To the contrary Arminianism believes in: Human ability, conditional election, general atonement, resistible grace, possible falling from grace. A brief overview of Arminianism can be found in: F. L. Cross (ed), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. A systematical presentation of the current Arminian position is: Randy L. Maddox, "Responsible Grace" in: *Wesleyan Theological Journal*. Bulletin of the Wesleyan Theological Society, Asbury Theological Seminary 1984, 7ff. A defense of the classical Calvinist position (with a fair description of the Arminian position) is: David N. Steele; Curtis C. Thomas, *The Five Points of Calvinism Defined Defended Documented*, Philadelphia 1963. For an overview of the historical development in Great Britain till 1900 see: Alan F. Sell, *The Great Debate. Calvinism, Arminianism and Salvation*, Worthing 1982/Grand Rapids 1983. Sell adheres to a moderate Calvinist position. He summarizes his arguments 89-98.

²³ The most important publications of the Holiness Movement are made accessible again by Garland Publishing (136 Madison Av, New York, NY 10016) in the 48-volume series: Donald W. Dayton (ed), *The Higher Christian Life. Sources for the Study of the Holiness, Pentecostal and Keswick Movements*. For bibliography see: Donald W. Dayton (ed), *The Higher Christian Life. A Bibliographical Overview*, New York 1984.

²⁴ Her biography is: John Alexander Roche, *The Life of Mrs. Sarah A. Lankford Palmer, Who for Sixty Years was the Able Teacher of Entire Holiness*, New York 1898.

²⁵ The best source for Phoebe Palmer, née Worall, is: Richard Wheatley, *Life and Letters of Mrs. Phoebe Palmer*, New York 1876. A modern biography, highly desirable also because of her contribution to the feminist movement, does not exist. See: Ernest Wall, "I Commend unto you Phoebe" in: *Religion in Life* 1957, 396-408.

rience took place somewhat earlier,²⁶ her sister Phoebe Palmer became the leading personality of the early Holiness Movement. Together with her husband Dr. Walter Palmer (1804-1883)²⁷ she instituted the interdenominational "Tuesday-meetings" through which she attempted to make holiness teaching and experience accessible to others.²⁸ Many who participated in these "Tuesday-Meetings" were not Methodists but belonged to churches with Calvinist concepts of holiness.²⁹ The movement spread fast. A few names may suffice here: Charles Grandison Finney (1792-1875),³⁰ Asa Mahan (1799-1889),³¹ Thomas Upham (1799-1872).³² Finney and Mahan date their holiness experience to 1836,³³ Upham to 1839 after a Tuesday-Meeting.³⁴ None of them left his church, and so a far-reaching process of "Arminianization of Calvinism" took place.³⁵ The theological concepts of

²⁶ 21.5.1835, 14.30 hrs. She describes her experience in thus: "All was calm and stillness; I had none of the expected emotions. I arose from my knees fully determined to rest in God, ... if I had not a joyous emotion in forty years. Since that ... May 21st, 1835, I think there has not been a day [without] resting in the ... atonement (John A. Roche, *The Life of Mrs. Sarah A. Lankford Palmer, Who for Sixty Years Was the Able Teacher of Entire Holiness*, New York nd [1898] 32f).

²⁷ George Hughes, *The Beloved Physician, Walter C. Palmer, M.D. His Sun-Lit Journey to the Celestial City*, New York 1884.

²⁸ George Hughes, *Fragrant Memories of the Tuesday Meetings and The Guide to Holiness, and their Fifty Years' Work for Jesus*, New York nd [1886].

²⁹ Melvin E. Dieter, *Holiness Revival* 34.

³⁰ Charles Grandison Finney, *Views of Sanctification*, Oberlin, Ohio 1840, 206

³¹ Barbara B. Zikmund, Asa Mahan and Oberlin Perfectionism, PhD Duke University 1969 [UMI]. His autobiography is: Asa Mahan. *Autobiography. Intellectual, Moral, and Spiritual*, London 1882.

³² Thomas Cogswell Upham, *Principles of the Interior or Hidden Life*, Boston 1846.

³³ Charles Grandison Finney, *Memoirs*, New York 1876, 336-341, 349-351; Asa Mahan, *Out of Darkness into Light or The Hidden Life Made Manifest*, Louisville, nd [1876] 42.

³⁴ Melvin E. Dieter, *Holiness Revival* 34. Upham was Congregationalist.

³⁵ Melvin E. Dieter, *Holiness Revival* 19; Phoebe Palmer (ed), *Pioneer Experiences*, New York 1868 contains "testimonies of eighty living ministers" on their sanctification experience.

Calvinism were largely retained, but in the Calvinist churches "Arminian" ways of behaviour spread, for example in evangelism³⁶ and missionary work. In this process of "Arminianization" the faith missions took an active part.

Theological Tendencies in the Holiness Movement

All sections of the Holiness Movement agree that sanctification is an act of divine grace and at the same time a human crisis experience which follows conversion but is definitely different from it. But beyond this basic consensus disagreement begins. The most extreme view is that of the "eradicationist school." It contends that sanctification eradicates the root of sin and by it sinful nature itself. Today these views can be found in some of the "holiness denominations" of the USA³⁷ and with individuals and groups there connected to the Christian (formerly: National) Holiness Association.³⁸ Less extreme is the "suppressionist school" which teaches that sinful nature is not eradicated but suppressed. This concept was widespread in the Keswick Movement, sometimes called the "moderate Holiness Movement."³⁹ Keswick was initiated by American holiness evangelists, among whom Hannah Whitall Smith⁴⁰ and Robert Pearsall Smith⁴¹ played

³⁶ An example for this is Charles Haddon Spurgeon. He was a convinced Calvinist, but because of his practice of evangelism he had to contend with many a rebuke from those whom he called "Hypercalvinists." For his life see: M.K. Nicholls, *C.H. Spurgeon: The Pastor Evangelist*, Baptist Historical Society, 1992.

³⁷ E.g. Church of the Nazarene, Wesleyan Methodist Church (USA) and Pilgrim Holiness Church (united since 1968 as The Wesleyan Church).

³⁸ History and literature in Charles Edwin Jones, *A Guide to the Study of the Holiness Movement*, Metuchen NJ 1974, 9ff.

³⁹ For literature see Charles Edwin Jones, *Holiness Movement* 485-512.

⁴⁰ Her most famous book (with millions sold) is: *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life*, 1875. Her autobiography is: *The Unselfishness of God. A Spiritual Autobiography*, New York 1903. The current biography is: Marie Henry, *The Secret Life of Hannah Whitall Smith*, Grand Rapids, 1984.

⁴¹ His most important book is: *Holiness Through Faith*, London ²1875(1870).

the leading role.⁴² This British Holiness Movement experienced an early culmination in the conferences of Oxford (1874)⁴³ and Brighton (1875).⁴⁴ Its name was taken from the little town of Keswick,⁴⁵ where this most important holiness conference of Great Britain has been meeting annually since 1875.⁴⁶ "Eradicationist school" and "suppressionist school" have many things in common, and an intermediate position was maintained by A.B. Simpson and his Christian and Missionary Alliance.⁴⁷

A widely used terminology, which cannot clearly be identified with one of the schools, occurs in three variants: "Higher Christian Life," "Deeper Christian Life" and "Victorious Christian Life." This terminology stresses not

⁴² See Marie Henry, *The Secret Life* 62-88. Another important factor in the Holiness Movement crossing the Atlantic was an article which Hannah Whitall Smith published in the magazine "Revival": "The Way to be Holy" [Nov. 1867]. Former visits of Phoebe Palmer had prepared the soil but had not started a lasting movement.

⁴³ *Account of the Union Meeting for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness, Held at Oxford, Aug. 29 to Sept 7, 1874*, London 1874, Boston/New York 1874. Hannah Whitall Smith's memories: *The Unselfishness of God and how I Discovered it. A Spiritual Autobiography*, New York/London 1903, 221-227.

⁴⁴ The conference had 6000 participants. 1000 pastors participated in the 1874 conference (Samuel J. Stoesz, "The Doctrine of Sanctification in the Thought of A.B. Simpson" in: Hartzfeld/Nienkirchen, *The Birth of a Vision*, 107-123 [110]). The extraordinary atmosphere of this conference can be best seen from: J.B. Figgis, *Keswick from Within*, London/Edinburgh/New York nd [1914] 21-47.

⁴⁵ Now there are also conferences like "Malawi Keswick" or "Canadian Keswick."

⁴⁶ The writing of one of the very first Keswick histories was suggested by Hannah Whitall Smith: J.B. Figgis, *Keswick from Within*, London/Edinburgh/New York nd [1914]. The official history is: J.C. Pollock, *The Keswick Story. The Authorized History of the Keswick Convention*, London 1964.

⁴⁷ For Simpson's concept of holiness see: Samuel J. Stoesz, "The Doctrine of Sanctification in the Thought of A.B. Simpson" in: Hartzfeld/Nienkirchen, *Birth of a Vision* 107-123 [116-119]. The best source is: A.B. Simpson, *Wholly Sanctified*, New York 1890. This book is based on his sermons.

so much suppression or eradication of sinful nature, but the possibility of an "exchanged life" with "victory over sin" and "power for service."⁴⁸

A theological "holiness term" which is today hardly recognizable any more as such is "baptism of the Holy Spirit," a term whose meaning was later changed by the Pentecostal Movement which identified the baptism of the Spirit with speaking in tongues. Originally the term "baptism of the Holy Spirit"⁴⁹ was mainly used by the great evangelists to challenge those who were already converted but were longing for a deeper spiritual life. Typical for this was the famous evangelist Dwight Lyman Moody (1837-1899).⁵⁰ Moody was not a holiness preacher in the narrow sense of the word. In his preaching he did not only try to convert the unconverted, but he challenged the "believers" to take a second step of faith, and for this second step he often used the term "baptism in the spirit."⁵¹ Moody's message was rooted in his dramatic holiness experience of 1871.⁵² This happened after two

⁴⁸ Among the faith missions the Christian Literature Crusade (born out of WEC) did much to spread "Deeper Life" literature, in America also as publishers of this literature. Cf. Norman Grubb, *Leap of Faith. The Story of the Christian Literature Crusade*, Ft Washington ³1984(1962), 131. Bethany Fellowship, Minneapolis [see Jones, *Holiness Movement* 390], also publishes much holiness literature. Both CLC and Bethany started to do this in the 1950s, when this type of literature had virtually disappeared from the American book market.

⁴⁹ The term was coined by William Edwin Boardman (1810-1886) in his book *In the Power of the Spirit, or Christian Experience in the Light of the Bible*, Boston 1875/ London 1879 to describe the "second blessing experience" (Zikmund, *Asa Mahan and Oberlin Perfectionism* 264). The origins can also be traced to: Asa Mahan (1799-1889), *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost*, New York 1870.

⁵⁰ For his theology and for further literature see: Stanley N. Gundry, *Love Them In. The Life and Theology of D.L. Moody*, Grand Rapids ²1982(1976).

⁵¹ Cf. Dwight Lyman Moody, *Secret Power; or, The Secret of Success in Christian Life and Christian Work*, Chicago 1881; *Power from on High*, London nd

⁵² Some biographies of Moody pay little or no intention to this event. The popular biography by Faith Coxe Bailey (*Dwight L. Moody*, Chicago (Moody Bible Institute) 1959 moves Moody's transformation to his 1867 visit to England where men like George Müller, Charles Haddon Spurgeon and Henry Varley impressed him. His "baptism by the Holy Spirit" is not mentioned at all. Bailey is typical for the

women from the Holiness Movement (Mrs Sarah Anne Cooke, a Free Methodist⁵³ and a Mrs Hawxhurst) had made him long for this experience. It happened less than two years before Moody's evangelistic campaigns in Great Britain which made him famous. Though he did not directly propagate foreign missions, many who later joined faith missions had received their call in his campaigns.

All these holiness doctrines go back to Wesley's "two-crises" teaching.⁵⁴ The first crisis, conversion, brings full salvation, but only the second crisis experience, sanctification, allows access to all the riches of God's grace and God's power. The Holiness Movement met the longing of so many Christians to receive not only forensic forgiveness of sin, but also to experience victory over sin, courage for discipleship, power for service and a fulfilled life. To this longing it provided spiritual, ritual and institutional answers.

Holiness Movement and Mysticism

Beyond Wesley, the roots of the Holiness Movement reach back to Mysticism. Wesley's most important link to Mysticism was William Law

tendency to make the great evangelist Moody suitable for the post 1906 period. The best current biography of Moody is John Pollock, *Moody Without Sankey*, London et al²1983[1963]) who does not make that mistake (82-87). "Moody locked the door and sat on the sofa. The room seemed ablaze with God. He dropped to the floor and lay bathing his soul in the Divine ... 'I can only say that God revealed himself to me, and I had such an experience of His love that I had to ask Him to stay His hand ... I was all the time tugging and carrying water. But now I have a river that carries me' ... Crazy Moody became Moody the man of God" (87). - As with Hudson Taylor this experience was preceded by a surrender of the will for God's service.

⁵³ John Pollock, *Moody Without Sankey* 83.

⁵⁴ John Wesley, "A Plain Account of Christian Perfection as believed and taught by the Reverend Mr. John Wesley" in: John Wesley [Ed. Wesleyan Conference Office], *The Works of Rev. John Wesley*. With the last corrections of the author, London³1872 vol 11, 366-446.

(1686-1761)⁵⁵ with his book "Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life."⁵⁶ Of major importance for the spirituality of the faith missions were authors like François Fénelon (1651-1715),⁵⁷ Jeanne de la Motte Guyon (1648-1717),⁵⁸

⁵⁵ A detailed analysis of Wesley's relation to Law is: Eric Baker, *A Herald of the Evangelical Revival. A critical inquiry into the relation of William Law to John Wesley and the beginnings of Methodism*, London 1948. For a recent study of Law see: George E. Clarkson, *The Mysticism of William Law*, New York/Bern/Frankfurt/Paris 1992. Today still available from Christian Literature Crusade (Ft Washington) is, edited by Dave Hunt: William Law, *The Power of the Spirit*. In South Africa Andrew Murray published Law anew (William Law, *The Power of the Spirit*. With additional extracts from the writings of W. Law. Selected and with an introduction by A. Murray, London 1896).

⁵⁶ William Law, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life, adapted to the State and Condition of all Orders of Christians*, London 1729, ²1732, ⁶1753, ¹⁰1772. Also, Philadelphia 1948 (Westminster Press) and elsewhere.

⁵⁷ François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon [ascribed?], *The Archbishop of Cambray's Dissertation on Pure Love, with an account of the life and writings of the lady for whose sake the Archbishop was banish'd from Court*, London: 1739.

⁵⁸ Phoebe and Walter Palmer published in their own publishing house: *Letters of Madame Guyon: Being Selections of her Religious Thoughts and Experiences*, translated and rearranged from her private correspondence; including her correspondence with Fénelon, abridged by Mrs. L. Upham, New York 1870. Today available from a faith mission: Dorothy Gawne Coslet, *Madame Jeanne Guyon. Child of Another World*, Ft. Washington: Christian Literature Crusade, ²1985 (1984).

Miguel de Molinos (1640-1697),⁵⁹ Heinrich Seuse (Suso) (ca 1300-1365)⁶⁰ and Gerhard Tersteegen (1697-1767).⁶¹ Common ground for Mysticism and Holiness Movement is the idea of two levels of Christian life and the concept of direct divine guidance of the believer. But different from some branches of Mysticism the Holiness Movement showed more active characteristics: evangelism, foreign missions, social activities and criticism of society.

The Keswick Teaching

For the faith missions the most important branch of the Holiness Movement was Keswick. Keswick taught three basic "steps" to spiritual fulfillment and

⁵⁹ The final impulse for Simpson's holiness experience came from an anonymous book published by the Quakers William Backhouse and James Janson: *A Guide to True Peace; or, A Method of attaining to inward and spiritual Prayer. Compiled chiefly from the Writings of Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray, Lady Guion and Michael de Molinos*. Second Edition, corrected and enlarged, York/London 1815 [also York/London/Derby 1847], which mainly consists of extracts of Madame Guyon's Short Method of Prayer, Fénelon's Maxims of the Saints and Molinos' Spiritual Guide [1675] (Dwayne Ratzlaff, "An Old Mediaeval Message. A Turning Point in the Life of A.B. Simpson," in: Hartzfeld/Nienkirchen, *Birth of a Vision* 172). Simpson learned from it "that God was waiting in the depth of my being to talk to me if I would only get still enough to hear His voice" (168). The final impulse for A.B. Simpson's conversion was also a book of Mysticism: Walter Marshall [1628-1680], *The Gospel-Mystery of Sanctification Opened in Sundry Practical Directions, Suited especially to the Case of those who labour under the guilt and power of Indwelling Sin. To which is added a Sermon of Justification*, London 1692 [New York 1811 (From the 12th European Edition [most probably of 1788]. (Cf. A.E. Thompson, A.B. Simpson, *His Life and Work*, Camp Hill 1960 16). It is not sure whether A.B. Simpson read exactly this edition.

⁶⁰ See: Wilhelm Preger, *Geschichte der deutschen Mystik im Mittelalter. Nach den Quellen untersucht und dargestellt*, Leipzig 1881, 309-347. His writings: Heinrich Seuse, *Deutsche mystische Schriften*. Aus dem Mittelhochdeutschen übertragen und herausgegeben von Georg Hofmann, Düsseldorf 1966.

⁶¹ Gerhard Tersteegen, a major exponent of Pietism, was strongly influenced by quietistic Mysticism. He published three volumes "Auserlesene Lebensbeschreibungen heiliger Seelen" (1733 - 1753), containing the lives of Catholic saints.

power: (1) full surrender to Christ (or: consecration), (2) being filled with the Spirit, (3) power for service.⁶²

Full surrender to Christ: This first step is not really concerned with sin, for that was dealt with in the conversion experience, though it includes as a precondition to give up all known sins, if there are any. Full surrender does not mean to surrender sin but to surrender one's self. One's will must be replaced by the Spirit's will. Through conversion Christ became one's Lord in principle, but full surrender puts all areas of one's life under his direct command. If the Holy Spirit is to live in a body, there is only room for one will, the Spirit's. Man's will must abdicate.⁶³ He loses his freedom, but since now divine will rules, at the same time gains utmost freedom.⁶⁴

Being filled with the Spirit (baptism of the Holy Spirit): In good Arminian tradition full surrender as well as being filled with the Spirit is a process in which divine grace and man's free will "cooperate." But finally, it is the Holy

⁶² In *The Missionary Review of the World* XX (Feb. 1897) 87 A.T. Pierson describes the holiness concept of Keswick in five steps: (1) The definite and immediate abandonment of every known sin or hindrance to holy living. (2) The abandonment and renunciation by faith of the self-life, or the life that centers in self-indulgence and self-dependence. (3) The immediate surrender of the will in loving and complete obedience to the will of God, separation in order to consecration. (4) The infilling of the Holy Spirit, or the claiming of the believer's share in the Spirit's Pentecostal gift of power for service. (5) The revelation of Christ as an indwelling presence in the believer's soul and daily life, and as his actual Master and Lord. - Delavan L. Pierson, *Arthur T. Pierson*, 288 describes the holiness experience in six steps. See also: Arthur Tappan Pierson, *The Keswick Movement in Precept and Practice*, New York/London 1903.

⁶³ In many cases the decisive point was the willingness (or not) to become a missionary. With Moody the final point of (not yet) surrender in 1871 was "to go out and preach the Gospel all over the land" (John Pollock, *The Keswick Story*, London 1964, 84).

⁶⁴ A typical example of this experience is Norman Grubb's description of Rees Howells' full surrender (Norman Grubb, *Rees Howells. Intercessor*, Guildford/London 1983, 37-43). His struggle lasted five days, every day he surrendered another area of his life: Money, selection of a marriage partner, ambition, property, reputation.

Spirit which makes man, whose will is always insufficient, "willing to be made willing."⁶⁵ In the act of full surrender the baptism of the Holy Spirit is claimed by faith, irrespective of one's feeling. Usually the consciousness and the feeling of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit follow soon after.⁶⁶

Power for Service: The Sanctification experience is not quietistic. It is an active experience which leads to serious activity, though this activity has quietistic roots as much as the holiness experience contains quietistic elements. The Spirit filled life is marked by "rest of faith," power over sin, consciousness of communion with God and by habitual prayer. Out of this rest and power the sanctified experiences a deep longing to help others in things material and things eternal. He receives this "power for service" from God so that his efforts are not a burden but a privilege.

For the Keswick Movement "full surrender" is the decisive crisis experience after conversion. This is not the aim of lifelong striving, but the start of Christian life on a different ("higher/deeper/victorious") level. This avoids (at least in theory) all perfectionism.

The early Keswick Conferences were not interested in missions. Therefore Hudson Taylor gave his first Keswick speech not as a missionary but as a holiness preacher.⁶⁷ In 1886 Reginald Radcliffe gave the first missionary speech, though outside the official programme.⁶⁸ But soon missions became one of the major issues at Keswick.

⁶⁵ See for example Grubb, *Rees Howells. Intercessor*, Guildford/London ⁸1983, 43.

⁶⁶ For this and for the experience of sanctification in general see D.L. Pierson's description in his biography of his father: *Arthur T. Pierson. A Spiritual Warrior, Mighty in the Scriptures; A Leader in the Modern Missionary Crusade*. New York/Chicago/Toronto/London/Edinburgh 1912, 287f. This description represents Keswick theology well. Every Keswick speaker had to testify to this experience.

⁶⁷ Moira J. McKay, *Faith and Facts* 159.

⁶⁸ J.B. Figgis, *Keswick from Within* 94. Radcliffe was a travelling evangelist in the Brethren Movement, but he also belonged to the Holiness Movement.

The Faith Missions and the Holiness Movement

The British Faith Missions and the Holiness Movement

After this brief overview of the Holiness Movement we will look into the relations between the faith missions and the movement. In this aspect also, Hudson Taylor is typical for the faith missions. His parents were active Methodists. His conversion (1849 at age 15) took place in the context of this church and her theology.⁶⁹ The same year his congregation split, and he sided, together with his parents, with the "Reformers" whose aim it was to restore the original holiness teaching of John Wesley.⁷⁰ The "reform" resulted in the formation of the Methodist Free Church.⁷¹ His Methodist (and Methodist Free) origin is Taylor's first link to holiness teaching. But he was also in contact to the modern Holiness Movement of his century. In 1849 he was so impressed by the article: "The Beauty of Holiness"⁷² that he began to "strive for entire sanctification."⁷³ One afternoon in December 1849 he had an experience of divine presence.⁷⁴ This he did not call "sanctification," but it had all the typical marks of a holiness experience.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ His account: Hudson Taylor, *Retrospect*, London, ¹⁸1974, 11-13.

⁷⁰ Later histories of the Methodist Free Church see quarrels over the role of laymen in the church as the decisive point for the split. Sources closer to CIM stress the attempted renewal of holiness teaching as the major factor.

⁷¹ Geraldine and Howard Taylor, *Hudson Taylor in Early Years* 112.

⁷² "The Beauty of Holiness. A Letter to the Newark Presbytery, by a Pastor of the Free Presbyterian Church, Newark, N.J., America" in: *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, [Nov.] 1849, 1144-1150; 1270-1274.

⁷³ Hudson Taylor - Amelia Taylor 2.12.1849 in: Broomhall, *Barbarians at the Gates* 1981, 354.

⁷⁴ "Well do I remember, as in unreserved consecration I put myself, my life, my friends, my all, upon the altar, the deep solemnity that came over my soul with the assurance that my offering was accepted. The presence of God became unutterably real and blessed; and though but a child under sixteen, I remember stretching myself on the ground, and lying there silent before Him with unspeakable awe and unspeakable joy" (Hudson Taylor, *Retrospect* 15).

⁷⁵ He surrendered his whole life to God and experienced a deep stillness. He felt that God had accepted his surrender and "heard" as if a human voice had spoken:

In 1869 in China he had a similar experience which saved him from a serious crisis. This experience was again connected to the reading of an article from the Holiness Movement. This time the author was Robert Pearsall Smith.⁷⁶ Obviously Taylor had two holiness experiences and called neither such. This is typical for the faith missions, too: they use holiness theology in a non-dogmatic way.⁷⁷

The connections of the Guinness family to the Holiness Movement were quite strong, though not as strong as Hudson Taylor's. Nevertheless, the young Grattan Guinness, two years after his conversion, experienced "a deep consciousness of sin and the longing for holiness and for a live in the Lord's service."⁷⁸ In 1896 Lucy Guinness in her brochure about the unreached areas of North East Zaire takes the Holiness Movement fully for

"Then go for me to China." Hudson Taylor rarely spoke of this experience. This explains the fact that accounts vary in details. (See Geraldine and Howard Taylor, *Hudson Taylor in Early Years* 78f; Hudson Taylor, *Retrospect* 15ff; Broomhall, *Barbarians at the Gates* 353-355).

⁷⁶ Moira J. McKay, *Faith and Facts* 154. The essay in the magazine "The Revival" was: "If we believe not; He abideth faithful." Cf. Broomhall, *Refiner's Fire* 210-215, where the event is described in the context of the CIM and the Holiness Movement.

⁷⁷ The classical holiness teaching knows only one holiness experience. In the CIM terms were used such as: Life on a higher plane, exchanged life, to be one with Christ.

⁷⁸ Kenneth Holmes, *The Cloud Moves*, London ⁵1974, 9. Then he began evangelistic work among Catholics in Ireland. On the 29.7.1857 the interdenominational Moorfield Tabernacle in London made him a travelling evangelist (p. 10).

granted.⁷⁹ F.B. Meyer (1847-1929),⁸⁰ a close friend of the Guinness Family, who later became director of Regions Beyond Missionary Union, was a major Keswick speaker.⁸¹ In 1882, through a visit of C.T. Studd and another member of the Cambridge Seven to his university, he broke through to a new (holiness-) piety. In spite of these holiness connections and in spite of the fact that the East London Training Institute provided many missionaries for the China Inland Mission, the Guinness Family and its circle⁸² seems somewhat closer first to the Brethren Movement and then to the Prophetic Movement. But one should not forget that in the early years the Prophetic Movement was closely related to the Holiness Movement,⁸³ and there were

⁷⁹ "This is July, 1896, at Mildmay, Northfield, Keswick, and a hundred other conferences in England and America, thousands are meeting this summer to sing and pray, and listen to the Scriptures, and talk of holiness ... Think of it for a moment. Stand here in this Keswick tent with the three thousand Christians gathered at the closing consecration meeting. The men and women sitting in these crowded seats possess money enough to float a steamer carrying the gospel on that far Upper Congo, and to open a dozen mission stations beyond Stanley Falls within the next six months without diminishing their ordinary gifts to Christian work. Scores of young men and women, student volunteers and others, are here with bent heads among this praying multitude, young lives washed by the blood of Jesus Christ, lived in the shadow of the Cross, young lives just fitted 'to help heal this open sore of the world.' But this Keswick will close as so many other Conferences have closed - Will it?" (Lucy Guinness, *To Help to Heal. A Missionary Study and an Appeal for Prayer*, London, nd [1896] 19f).

⁸⁰ Frederick Brotherton Meyer, *The Soul's Pure Intention*, London 1906; *The Call and Challenge of the Unseen*, London 1928.

⁸¹ Grattan Guinness and Karl Kumm were no Keswick speakers, but Lucy Guinness and Karl Kumm spoke during missionary meetings there. Karl Kumm's talk of 1903 was very important for the nascent SUM (*Lightbearer* Aug./Sept. 1906).

⁸² This "circle" includes: Livingstone Inland Mission, Congo Balolo Mission, Qua Iboe Mission, NAM, SUM. But there were also relations to Keswick. See: "Memoirs of Keswick 1893. By a first attender" (Qua Iboe Mission Occasional Papers Oct. 1893).

⁸³ The most prominent case is that of Cyrus Ingersoll Scofield [1843-1921] who produced the Scofield Bibel. His biography is: Charles G. Trumbull, *The Life Story of*

in those days even quite a number of Brethren who also belonged to the Holiness Movement.

For the missions related to the Guinness Family connections to the Holiness Movement are easily recognizable. Many of their early missionaries were influenced directly or indirectly by Moody. In Great Britain Moody strongly influenced the YMCA, and many of his converts or those "revived" by him started "mission halls." Bill and Bailie, the first missionaries of the Qua Iboe Mission, and McKittrick, the first missionary of the Congo Balolo Mission, came from the mission hall in Island Street, Mountpottinger, near Belfast.⁸⁴ The members of Island Street Mission Hall were at first solely responsible for the newly founded Qua Iboe Mission, after Bill had written to Ferguson, a member of that mission hall and had asked him to start "a kind of mission society."⁸⁵ The receipt books of the young mission show who supported it: About 70 people paid regularly, and about the same number of collection boxes were in use. In addition, gifts had been received from 14 Sunday schools and mission halls in the district. No church congregation participated—that was typical for the first decades of the faith missions in Great Britain. Bill and Bailie were not only members of Island Street Mission Hall, but also of Mountpottinger YMCA, where they met with McKittrick every Saturday for prayer, mainly to gain clarity as to their future.⁸⁶ Other YMCA groups also supported the Qua Iboe Mission.⁸⁷ Lowry Maxwell, one of the early leading missionaries of the Sudan United Mission, came from

C.I. Scofield, New York et al. 1920. C.E. Hurlbert held a similar position (*Inland Africa* Nov 1917,3-4).

⁸⁴ Qua Iboe Mission Mountpottinger Auxiliary - Its Origin and Management [D 3301/MA/1].

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Jean S. Corbett, *According to Plan. The Story of Samuel Alexander Bill, Founder of the Qua Iboe Mission, Nigeria*, Worthing ²1979, 13.

⁸⁷ Three YMCA secretaries (Black, Miller, M'Cann) issued in 1890 the first "Qua Iboe Mission Occasional Paper." In January 1891 there were two YMCA auxiliaries [QIM Archives D 3301/EA/1]. M'Keown, for many years QIM's home director, was YMCA secretary in Londonderry before (*QIM Occasional Paper* March 1896).

Dublin City YMCA.⁸⁸ And it was no accident that the SUM Committee in Sheffield often met in the rooms of Sheffield YMCA.⁸⁹

The faith missions did not only receive many of their early missionaries from mission-halls, they sometimes established themselves such halls. Glenny was not only many years home director of the North Africa Mission, he also supervised the work in four mission-halls. They were used also to train the missionary candidates, who had to stay a year at headquarters in Barking, in evangelistic work.⁹⁰ This close connection between training institute and evangelistic work was most probably modelled after the East London Training Institute with its "Berger Hall."⁹¹ Similarly the New York Missionary Training College established four "missions."

Differently from the "Guinness-Missions" there were some missions in Great Britain very strongly related to the Holiness Movement. The group of young men who later formed the Egypt Mission Band (Egypt General Mission), had their spiritual home in a Methodist manse.⁹² Martin Cleaver, one of the leaders of that group, had been led by a fellow student to a life of "full surrender to the Lord Jesus Christ,"⁹³ and one of the early missionaries had experienced his call through a booklet by Lilius Trotter (founder of the Algiers Mission Band) who was in turn strongly influenced by the Holiness Movement.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ *Lightbearer* October 1908.

⁸⁹ SUM minutes book. The "branches" in Aberdeen and Dublin were directly related to YMCA/YWCA (*Lightbearer* Feb. 1904).

⁹⁰ Francis R. Steele, *Not in Vain. The Story of North Africa Mission*, Pasadena 1981, 20.

⁹¹ Called so after William Thomas Berger (ca. 1812-1899), the first CIM Home Director, who also supported Grattan Guinness, who in turn was a CIM "referee." Later more mission halls were added, but also literacy classes and a factory girls' club.

⁹² George Swan, *Lacked Ye Anything? A Brief Story of the Egypt General Mission*, London ³1923(1921) 11.

⁹³ Ibid 9.

⁹⁴ Ibid 17. In addition, the EGM had strong ties to the YMCA (10).

Among the early British missions, the Cape General Mission/South Africa General Mission had the strongest connection to the Holiness Movement. Spencer Walton, founder of the Cape General Mission, worked in 1882 as evangelist for the Church Parochial Mission Society⁹⁵ which had been founded on Moody's suggestion. In the same year Walton was the guest of Canon Battersby, who in 1875 after Oxford 1874 and Brighton 1875 brought the holiness conferences to Keswick.⁹⁶ In Canon Battersby's⁹⁷ house he met the Reformed pastor Andrew Murray, the leading holiness theologian of South Africa,⁹⁸ who suggested that Walton should visit South Africa as an evangelist. When Walton, after some years, was willing to take up that invitation, it was Andrew Murray who formed a committee and organized the trip.⁹⁹ Some time later Walton received "in the quiet of the woods of Mrs. Elizabeth Hanbury" his call to become a missionary.¹⁰⁰ On the 17th October of that same year he had, after hearing a man whom he calls only Mr. H. in his diary, a deep holiness experience, which for him meant mainly "receiving [divine] power."¹⁰¹ When in 1885 Walton finally decided to start a mission in South Africa, it was one of its major aims to proclaim the holiness message among the white Christians of South Africa.¹⁰² Therefore

⁹⁵ George E. Weeks, *W. Spencer Walton*, London/Edinburgh/New York, nd, 11.

⁹⁶ J.B. Figgis, *Keswick from Within*, London/Edinburgh/New York, nd, 50f.

⁹⁷ Thomas D. H. Battersby, *Memoir of T.D. Harford-Battersby. Together with some Account of the Keswick Convention by two of his Sons*, London 1890.

⁹⁸ The present biography, published by a faith mission, is: Leona Choy, *Andrew Murray, Apostle of Abiding Love*, Ft Washington: Christian Literature Crusade, 1978. Older biographies are: J. Du Plessis, *The Life of Andrew Murray of South Africa*, London/Edinburgh/New York 1919; W.M. Douglas, *Andrew Murray and His Message - One of God's Choice Saints*, London/Edinburgh 1926 (Ft Washington 1957).

⁹⁹ George E. Weeks, *W. Spencer Walton*, London/Edinburgh/New York, nd 43f.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 36.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 21f; 28.

¹⁰² "The object of the Mission is: 1st To fulfil Christ's Command to 'Preach the Gospel to every creature' and 2nd, To help to promote and deepen the spiritual life of Christians" (South Africa General Mission, Statement of Position, Feb. 1903).

the mission instituted the annual Wellington Convention,¹⁰³ a holiness conference of the Keswick type.¹⁰⁴ President of the mission, whose headquarters were in South Africa, was Andrew Murray.

Andrew Murray made his Dutch Reformed Church (Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk) start missionary work among the black Africans of their country and had started a seminary for training missionaries.¹⁰⁵ After being sick for two years and having lost his voice, he went to Europe to contact the leaders of the Holiness Movement and the Healing Movement.¹⁰⁶ In London he stayed at Bethshan Healing Home,¹⁰⁷ which was founded on William E. Boardman's (1810-1886)¹⁰⁸ initiative and led by Elizabeth Baxter.¹⁰⁹ At Bethshan Murray regained his voice, a permanent healing.¹¹⁰

¹⁰³ *South African Pioneer* 1891, 250f.

¹⁰⁴ George E. Weeks, *W. Spencer Walton*, London/Edinburgh/New York, nd 99.

¹⁰⁵ Leona Choy, *Andrew Murray* 187-204. His most important mission publication is: Andrew Murray, *The Key to the Missionary Problem*, London 1901. The book was written in connection with the Ecumenical Missionary Conference New York 1900. See Leona Choy, *Andrew Murray* 195-204. For Andrew Murray mission was "the chief end of the church" (Per Hassing).

¹⁰⁶ Leona Choy, *Andrew Murray* 146. He had among others been influenced by Stockmayer's writings and also met him personally (144).

¹⁰⁷ In Bethshan influences from the Swiss and the American Healing Movement converged. Mrs Baxter had been influenced by Stockmayer and his work in Männedorf (Switzerland). Boardman, like A.B. Simpson, was influenced by Dr Cullis of Boston: "Fullness of life is fullness of health. Disease is incompatible with fullness of life. His presence in us learned by faith as our fullness of life, and so of health, is really the expulsive force that rebukes and expells disease" (Nathaniel Wiseman, *Elizabeth Baxter*, London 1928, 132).

¹⁰⁸ With his famous book "Higher Christian Life" (London 1859) he created one of the most important holiness terms. His biography: Mary M. Boardman, *Life and Labours of Rev. W.E. Boardman*, New York 1886.

¹⁰⁹ Nathaniel Wiseman, *Elizabeth Baxter (Wife of Michael Paget Baxter)*. *Saint, Evangelist, Preacher, Teacher, and Expositor*, London 1928. For Bethshan see 129-178.

¹¹⁰ Leona Choy, *Andrew Murray* 147; Wiseman, *Elizabeth Baxter* 134.—*Andrew Murray was influential in the founding of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission,

Returning to South Africa he became the leading holiness preacher there. His holiness books and his conference talks in South Africa, England and in the USA made him one of the most famous holiness leaders.¹¹¹ When Murray turned to the (interdenominational) Holiness Movement, he also began to support interdenominational faith missions (Cape General Mission/SAGM, Sudan United Mission¹¹²), though for him as for A.J. Gordon (Boston) this did not mean stopping support for the missionary work of his own denomination.¹¹³

Even more closely tied to the Holiness Movement was the Africa Evangelistic Band. The stages of the spiritual development of its founder Helene Garrath is typical for holiness theology: Her mother Harriette, a Quaker, was a convert of the 1859 revival. Helene was converted at the age

which created what is now CCAP Nkhoma Synod in Central Malawi.—*Since his healing was visible and lasting, I use it as a positive example in my book: *Fake Healing Claims for HIV and Aids in Malawi*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2016, 25.

¹¹¹ For an overview of his many books see: Leona Choy, *Andrew Murray* 253-274. Important ones are: *Abide in Christ* (1864), *Be Perfect* (1893), *Divine Healing* (1900), *The Full Blessing of Pentecost* (1907), *The State of the Church* [written for Edinburgh 1910] (1911).

¹¹² N.J. Brümmer, "Dr. Kumm" in: *De Kerkbode* 1907,306; "Correspondentie" in: *De Kerkbode* 1907,370; Andrew Murray, "De Soedan" in: *De Kerkbode* 1907,443f; 481f. (Cf. Edvard Torjesen, *A Study of Fredrik Franson* 775f). When Kumm revisited South Africa in 1911, Andrew Murray presided on 9.8.1911 over an important conference (Report of a visit to South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America, undertaken in the interests of the United Mission by H.K.W. Kumm 1912).

¹¹³ A parallel case is that of Adoniram Judson Gordon, who was at the same time president of the executive committee of the American Baptist Missionary Union and an ardent supporter and propagator of the new faith missions (Dana L. Robert, "The Legacy of Adoniram Judson Gordon" in: *IBMR* Oct. 1987, 176-181 [179]). For his view on the faith missions see: A.J. Gordon, "The Overflow of Missions" in *MRW* March 1893.—*This differs very much from the attitude of Charles Hudson Spurgeon (Metropolitan Tabernacle) and Archibald Gaikie Brown (West London Tabernacle) and Thomas Spurgeon (New Zealand Tabernacle) who were all Baptists and supported the Faith Missions only, not their denominational mission, the old established Baptist Missionary Society (1792), which goes back to the Great Awakening, while they belonged to a later revival, the Holiness Revival.

of 9 years and was led to "full surrender" by Moody in 1882. In 1885 her two brothers attended Keswick and were highly impressed by the CIM missionary Charlotte Kerr. Like her brothers, she began with her sisters May and Emma, "to seek God, and experienced him."¹¹⁴ During a conference of the International Police Association in Belfast in 1891 she met John George Govan,¹¹⁵ who had given up his business to start, taking the CIM as his pattern, an Inland Mission for Scotland, the Faith Mission (1886). Its "pilgrims" were to take the Gospel to the "needy villages of Scotland."¹¹⁶ As Govan preached the same "full salvation"¹¹⁷ as the Garratt sisters, they asked the Faith Mission to come to Ireland.¹¹⁸ When they later became convinced, that a "pilgrims' mission" for South Africa should be started, Govan told them that they should do that themselves.¹¹⁹

Priscilla and C.T Studd were strongly related to the Holiness Movement. Priscilla was a member of the Salvation Army, when she joined the CIM, and Charles was strongly influenced by Moody, as were all the Cambridge

¹¹⁴ Colin N. Peckham, *The Africa Evangelistic Band. An Historical and Doctrinal Appraisal*, Dipl of Theol, Theological College, Johannesburg 1973, 3f.—Here there are three levels of Christian living, not two, as usual: (1) Childhood piety, "inherited" from the parents, but consciously accepted in a conversion experience. (2) The conscious decision to live for Christ. (Her house in Glenvar very soon became a center of Christian activity.) (3) Reaching the higher plane of Christian living. Of Keswick it was said, "there was dynamite indeed" [p. 4]).

¹¹⁵ I.R. Govan, *Spirit of Revival. The Story of J.G. Govan and the Faith Mission*, Edinburgh 41978(1938), 91ff.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* 36f.

¹¹⁷ "Full salvation" is another term for the second level in holiness doctrine. In the Pentecostal Movement this was turned to "Full Gospel." The Africa Evangelistic Band, even in its statistics, distinguishes between conversion and "full salvation" (*Ibid.* 211).

¹¹⁸ "We had recently entered into the experience of holiness ourselves, and had suffered somewhat for it, so we felt drawn to this man who had been passing through the fire for this same truth that had transformed our Christian lives" (*Ibid.* 99).

¹¹⁹ Peckham, *Africa Evangelistic Band* 15f.

Seven. In 1913 C.T. Studd formulated, besides the "five smooth stones,"¹²⁰ a kind of WEC basis of faith, the programmatic "four pillars." Among them holiness is (besides sacrifice, faith and fellowship) the third pillar. In 1927 Priscilla Studd entered into a close relationship to J.D. Drysdale¹²¹ and his Emmanuel Missionary Training Home¹²² in Birkenhead, Liverpool.¹²³ He was one of the leading British interdenominational holiness evangelists.¹²⁴ Over many years a great portion of the WEC missionaries came from Birkenhead¹²⁵ or from the Bible College of Wales in Swansea, another holiness school, where worldwide intercession and the "life of faith" were stressed.¹²⁶ Its founder, Rees Howells, was from the 1904 Wales holiness

¹²⁰ Cf. 1 Samuel 17:40. Printed the first time in: C.T. Studd, *Christ's Etceteras*, London 1915 [Facsimile Reprint 1988], 9f. *Christ's Etceteras* was written by Studd in Zaire before he started his work there.

¹²¹ His autobiography: Norman P. Grubb, *J.D. Drysdale, Prophet of Holiness*, London 1955, 1-184.

¹²² The school was especially designed to train missionaries, teach them to live by faith and in close fellowship. The fees were very low and the students were taught "to receive a clean heart by the baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire" (ibid. 101).

¹²³ Norman P. Grubb, *Drysdale, Prophet of Holiness* 10; 101f; 118ff.

¹²⁴ Ibid. 144. Only as a sideline he also started a holiness denomination in 1916 with today six congregations. The Emmanuel Holiness Church combined a number of formerly independent evangelistic congregations in and around Birkenhead.

¹²⁵ Looking back those years were considered as "spiritually red hot" (N.N.). The quest for holiness was intense, patterned on Acts 1:4 there were "tarrying meetings" to wait for the Holy Spirit. - Today the school has lost its importance among the English Bible schools and is no longer one of the schools with a special WEC recommendation.

¹²⁶ The close contacts of the school to Ethiopia are fascinating: On suggestion of Alfred Buxton (then Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society) Asrate Kassa, son of the Ras Kassa, became a student at the school. The Emperor visited the school and his son-in-law, Abye Abebe, married to Princess Tshai, became a student there, later other members of the Emperor's family, too (Doris M. Ruscoe, *The Intercession of Rees Howells*, Guildford/Ft Washington 1983, 22-23). - See also: Norman Grubb, *Rees Howells. Intercessor*, Guildford/London ⁸1983(1973).

revival,¹²⁷ and at the 1906 Llandrindod Wells Convention ("Keswick of Wales") he went through a protracted holiness experience.¹²⁸

Lilias Trotter, founder of the Algiers Mission Band (1888),¹²⁹ was won for the Holiness Movement in 1872 at a conference which Lady Mount Temple had organized in Broadlands for Hannah Whittall and Robert Pearsall Smith.¹³⁰ She also participated in the Oxford and Brighton conferences 1874 and 1875.¹³¹ Matthew Z. Stober, founder of the Angola Evangelical Mission (later taken over by the Canadian Baptist Overseas Mission Board) taught to its converts the baptism of the Holy Spirit as the second crisis experience of the life of faith.¹³² The Zambezi Mission (originally Zambezi Industrial Mission) created the "Malawi Keswick."¹³³

¹²⁷ See: Vyrnwy Morgan, *The Welsh Religious Revival 1904-05. A Retrospect and a Criticism*, London 1909.

¹²⁸ Norman Grubb, *Rees Howells* 36ff. Different from the "eradicationist school" Howells understood the replacement of "self-nature" by "divine nature" as a gradual process, for which the crisis experience of sanctification is the precondition (Grubb, *Rees Howells* 100f).

¹²⁹ For ABM history: Francis Steele, *Not in Vain. The Story of North Africa Mission*, 121-126.

¹³⁰ Blanche A.F. Pigott, *L. Lilias Trotter*, London/Edinburgh nd, 4. "In 1872, her mother took her to the conference at Broadlands, where Lady Mount Temple collected from far and near those who came to welcome the Quaker preachers, Mr. and Mrs. Pearsall Smith of Philadelphia, and to listen to their teaching on the Life of Consecration. Of the great spiritual emancipation here given her, Lily's whole life was an illustration."

¹³¹ *Ibid.* 4. Today the emancipating aspect of the Holiness Movement is often neglected: Equal spiritual and ecclesiastical rights for women, coeducation, independence from ecclesiastical hierarchies are only some aspects.

¹³² Angola (circular-letter) 21.6.1927 [Yale]. In "Angola Evangelical Mission" 16.2.1928 Stober uses typical holiness terms like "spirit of consecration." Also, there was an "Angola Party," a daily prayer meeting at Keswick in 1927 ("Angola," 21.6.1927).

¹³³ Int. D.L. Evans 18.10.1985. *For Malawi Keswick and its importance in the Blantyre Revival of the 1970s see: Bright Kawamba, *The Blantyre Spiritual Awakening 1969 to 1986: an Antecedent of the Charismatic Movement in Malawi*,

The American Missions and the Holiness Movement

The Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA)¹³⁴ as an American fellowship movement was first of all a Holiness Movement. A.B. Simpson preached and taught the fourfold gospel¹³⁵ ("Christ our Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer and Coming King").¹³⁶ Simpson had started the Christian Alliance as pastor of an independent Tabernacle.¹³⁷ What had changed him sufficiently to do this? There were three major changes in his life: While he was a pastor in Louisville, he invited the (holiness) evangelists Whittle and Bliss. From them he received a strong longing for a deep and new spiritual experience, and he learned from them that it was the job of the church to reach the

MA, University of Malawi, 2013; Brighton Kawamba, *The Blantyre Spiritual Awakening and its Music*, Mzuzu: Luviri Press, 2018

¹³⁴ This includes the earlier Missionary Union for the Evangelization of the World, Christian Alliance, Missionary Alliance and International Missionary Alliance. For a bibliography see: Charles Edwin, *A Guide to the Study of the Holiness Movement*, Metuchen 1974, 498-509.

¹³⁵ This "Fourfold Gospel" became the Pentecostal "Foursquare Gospel" (Aimee Semple McPherson [1890-1944]), sanctification being replaced by baptism in the Holy Spirit.

¹³⁶ For A.B. Simpson's holiness doctrine see: A.B. Simpson, *The Fourfold Gospel. Jesus Christ: Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer, Coming Lord*, Camp Hill PA 1984 (updated and edited edition). For a scholarly review see: John Sawin, "The Fourfold Gospel" in: Hartzfeld/Nienkirchen, *The Birth of a Vision* 1-28; Samuel J. Stoesz, "The Doctrine of Sanctification in the Thought of A.B. Simpson" in: Hartzfeld/ Nienkirchen, *The Birth of a Vision* 107-124.

¹³⁷ The term "tabernacle" alludes to Israel's tabernacle in the wilderness which was put up wherever the people were. In the days of Whitefield and Wesley tabernacles were temporary structures erected for evangelistic campaigns. Later the term came to be used for non-conventional "churches" in the urban areas, built for the masses, like Spurgeon's Metropolitan Tabernacle. When tenders were invited for the Tabernacle, it was made clear that a Gothic (church like) building was out of question (Spurgeon, *Alles zur Ehre Gottes* 219). **"Alles zur Ehre Gottes"* is based on Susannah Spurgeon and Joseph Harrauld (eds), *C.H. Spurgeon Autobiography, Compiled from his Diary, Letters and Records by his Wife and his Private Secretary*, London 1897-1910 (4 vols).

masses.¹³⁸ That made him transform his traditional Presbyterian congregation into a Tabernacle church, accessible for people from all walks of life. Simpson went to Chicago to ask Moody for help to satisfy his spiritual hunger, but he heard only the simple testimony of a man unknown to him and returned home. What he was searching he found in the quietness of his study¹³⁹ when reading a book with extracts from 17th century mystics. The third decisive experience was his meeting the Episcopalian physician Charles Cullis (1833-1892)¹⁴⁰ in Old Orchard,¹⁴¹ who practised healing by

¹³⁸ A.E. Thompson, *A.B. Simpson. His Life and Work*, Camp Hill PA 1960 revised ed. 72-81; 138-149; Niklaus/Sawin/Stoesz, *All for Jesus* 7-16. In 1874 A.T. Pierson was strongly influenced by Whittle and Bliss (Delavan L. Pierson, *Arthur T. Pierson* 128ff). For Whittle see: Ernest O. Sellers, *Evangelism in Sermon and Song*, Chicago 1946, 37-41.

¹³⁹ Dwayne Ratzlaff, "An Old Mediaeval Message: A Turning Point in the Life of A.B. Simpson" in: Hartzfeld/Nienkirchen, *The Birth of a Vision* 165-194 deals in detail with Simpson's sanctification experience and relates it to the broad realm of mysticism.—A very rare experience in the faith mission context was the vision of Christ which Amelia, Hudson Taylor's sister, experienced: "It happened when she was asleep, in a dream. She was standing in a cornfield that had just been reaped, and the winnowing process was going on. The wheat was being separated from the chaff. Then, as she looked, she saw a cloud in the sky, bright and gleaming, and she saw it was coming down, down to where she stood, and in it she saw a Figure. Beside her on one side was her husband, and on the other side Harriet the cook, and catching their hands in hers she felt herself lifted up in an ecstasy towards the Figure in the cloud, and then she saw His face ... She very rarely spoke of it and could never describe that blessed face. She only knew that more than anything else she longed to see it again" (Phyllis Thompson, *Each to Her Post*, London/Sevenoaks 1982, 30).

¹⁴⁰ Charles Cullis, *Faith Cures or Answers to Prayer in the Healing of the Sick*, Boston 1879; *Tuesday Afternoon Talks*, Boston 1892. W. H. Daniels, *Dr. Cullis and his Work*, Boston 1885. For Bingham's positive attitude to Dr. Cullis see: Rowland V. Bingham, *The Bible and the Body. Healing in the Scriptures*, London/Edinburgh 41952 (1921), 15-17

¹⁴¹ A "convention ground" at the shore used by various groups. Later "Old Orchard Convention" became perhaps the most important of the many CMA conventions.

faith ("divine healing").¹⁴² A.B. Simpson was thoroughly healed, and he soon became a leader of the Healing Movement, which often overlapped with the Holiness Movement.¹⁴³

In his sermons and in his publications, he taught the possibility and necessity of divine healing. The institutions which he created became well known. Following Phoebe Palmer's example he started a "Friday-Meeting" in his Tabernacle.¹⁴⁴ Wherever he was given a chance, he held "conventions," their major themes being holiness, healing and missions.¹⁴⁵ Beyond his own sphere he closely cooperated with Arthur Tappan Pierson (1837-1911),¹⁴⁶ editor of the *Missionary Review of the World*, who in turn taught at the New York Missionary Training College, and with Adoniram Judson Gordon (1836-1895),¹⁴⁷ pastor of Clarendon Street Baptist Church in Boston

¹⁴² Cf. Niklaus/Sawin/Stoesz, *All for Jesus* VI and VII; 39-42 and McKenzie, *My Memories of Dr. Simpson*, 5.6.1937 (unpublished).

¹⁴³ John Sawin, "The Fourfold Gospel" in: Hartzfeld/Nienkirchen, *The Birth of a Vision* 1-28 [see 11-15]; A.B. Simpson, *The Gospel of Healing*, New York 1887 (and further editions till today). For Bingham's criticism of Simpson's healing doctrine see: Rowland Bingham, *The Bible and the Body* 96-104. For counter criticism see: Lindsay Reynolds, *Footprints*, 1981, 387.

¹⁴⁴ Niklaus/Sawin/Stoesz, *All for Jesus* 55f. These brought about the establishment of Berachah Home (56f), a healing home similar to Mrs Baxter's Bethshan.

¹⁴⁵ Niklaus/Sawin/Stoesz, *All for Jesus* 73-79.

¹⁴⁶ J. Kennedy Maclean, *Dr. Pierson and his Message. A Sketch of the Life and Work of a Great Preacher, together with a varied selection from his unpublished Manuscripts*, New York 1911. His biography is: Delavan L. Pierson, *Arthur T. Pierson. A Biography by his Son*, London 1912. Important publications: *The Crisis of Missions or The Voice out of the Cloud*, London nd [1886]; *The Divine Enterprise of Missions. A Series of Lectures*, London 1902; *Forward Movements of the Last Half Century being a glance at the more marked philanthropic, missionary and spiritual movements characteristic of our time*, New York 1905 [Garland Reprint New York/London 1984].

¹⁴⁷ Dana L. Robert, "The Legacy of Adoniram Judson Gordon" in: IBMR 1987, 176-181; Ernest B. Gordon, *Adoniram Judson Gordon. A Biography*, New York 1896; George G. Houghton, *The Contributions of Adoniram Judson Gordon to American Christianity*, ThD Dallas Theological Seminary 1970. Gordon's best known book is:

and founder of the interdenominational Boston Missionary Training Institute. Both were important holiness preachers.¹⁴⁸

Peter Cameron Scott had attended the New York Missionary Training College and then worked as a CMA missionary on the Lower Congo. So he came from the hotbed of holiness teaching.¹⁴⁹ Support for the early AIM came largely through the Philadelphia Bible College and its missionary council, the paper of the college (*Hearing and Doing*) doubling as the AIM paper. An important teacher there was James H. McConkey.¹⁵⁰ During the first decade, nearly every issue of *Hearing and Doing* featured one of McConkey's articles on issues of holiness teaching. Charles E. Hurlbert, before he took over the leadership of AIM also a teacher at Philadelphia Bible College, concentrated more on eschatology. But when on deputation, he called not only for support of missionary work, but equally for a deeper walk with God.¹⁵¹ Among the early members of the AIM Willis Hotchkiss (1873-1948) was a strong supporter of the holiness teaching.¹⁵² In 1899 he left the AIM,¹⁵³ to start together with Arthur Chilson and Edgar Hole in 1902

The Holy Spirit in Missions, New York 1893. See also: "*The Holy Spirit in Missions.*" *Report of the First International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions*, Cleveland/Boston 1891.

¹⁴⁸ For A.T. Pierson's view of the Holiness Movement see: Arthur T. Pierson, *Forward Movements* (The Increase of Personal Holiness 1-13; The Oxford Movement Toward Holiness 14-23; Keswick Teaching 24-38; Keswick Method 39-50).

¹⁴⁹ The in memoriam of *Hearing and Doing* Nr 3, Feb. 1897 dates his "consecration" around 1888. This must be understood as a sanctification experience. Jones, *Holiness Movement* 739f classifies him as an important personality of the Holiness Movement.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. James Henry McConkey, *The Three-Fold Secret of the Holy Spirit*, Harrisburg 1908.

¹⁵¹ Robert C. McQuilkin, "Carrying the Victory Message" in: *Inland Africa* Nov. 1917, 3-4.

¹⁵² He was a Quaker but belonged to the group which was strongly influenced by the Holiness Movement (Willis Ray Hotchkiss, *Then and Now in Kenya Colony. Forty Adventurous Years in East Africa*, New York nd [ca. 1937]).

¹⁵³ *Hearing and Doing* Aug./Sept. 1899.

a mission of his own denomination at Kaimosi.¹⁵⁴ In 1905 he founded the Lumbwa Industrial Mission as an independent mission in Chagaik near Kericho,¹⁵⁵ which in 1932 served as the stepping stone for the first African field of the World Gospel Mission, which was founded in 1910.¹⁵⁶

Alma Doering, first a missionary of CMA and Svenska Missionsförbundet,¹⁵⁷ then founder of Congo Inland Mission and Unevangelized Tribes Mission, came from the same milieu. She had her holiness experience at the age of 20.¹⁵⁸ After this she spent some time in a "faith home" in Chicago, then she worked as an evangelist among miners and wood cutters in North Wisconsin.¹⁵⁹ In Europe she held contact to the Swiss pastor Otto Stockmayer (1838-1917),¹⁶⁰ and in his healing home (founded in 1878) she sought and found healing for body and soul in 1906 on her way to join the AIM work in Kenya.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁴ Hurlbert negotiated with the [Holiness-]Quakers in Ohio, and the conclusion was reached that the founding of a new mission would not be advisable (*Hearing and Doing* Aug./Sept. 1899). The East Africa Yearly Meeting of Friends today (ca. 1975, ca. 100,000 members) is the biggest outside the USA.

¹⁵⁵ Burnette and Gerald Fish, *The Place of Songs*, Nairobi 1989.

¹⁵⁶ Burnette and Gerald Fish, *The Call to Battle*, Kericho 1982, 10f. The WGM started in 1935 in the area of Tenwek. The link between the Lumbwa Industrial Mission and WGM was Johana Ng'etich (12). For the work of WGM in Kenya see: Laura Cammack Trachsel, *Kindled Fires in Africa*, Marion 1960.

¹⁵⁷ Melvin J. Loewen, *Three Score. The Story of an Emerging Mennonite Church in Central Africa*, Elkhart 1972, 32.

¹⁵⁸ Before she travelled to Kenya the AIM wrote about her: "Until finally there came an unquenchable thirst for the power of the Holy Spirit for Christ-likeness and power in soulwinning. It was in this hallowed hour of consecration, Miss Doering says, that God spoke Africa to her soul" (*Hearing and Doing* April/Juni 1906, 8).

¹⁵⁹ *Hearing and Doing* April/June 1906, 8.

¹⁶⁰ Alfred Roth, Otto Stockmayer. *Ein Zeuge und Nachfolger Jesu Christi*, Gotha 1925(²1938).

¹⁶¹ *Hearing and Doing* July/Oct. 1906.

Rowland Bingham (1882-1942),¹⁶² founder of the SIM, was originally a member of the Salvation Army.¹⁶³ He left it in autumn 1892,¹⁶⁴ but did not give up holiness teaching, though he followed the "milder" Keswick variety, which was similar to CMA teaching, to whose Canadian leader John Salmon¹⁶⁵ he was 1892/93 pastoral assistant before going to Nigeria for the first time.¹⁶⁶ To give prominence to "victorious life teaching" in Canada, he started in 1924 the "Canadian Keswick," whose director he remained until his death.¹⁶⁷ Bingham was also directly influenced by A.B. Simpson, whose New York Missionary Training College he attended in 1895/96.¹⁶⁸ In spite of later differences with Simpson about divine healing,¹⁶⁹ he never criticized Simpson's holiness teaching.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶² His current biography is still: J.H. Hunter, *A Flame of Fire. The Life and Work of R.V. Bingham*, Toronto 1961. His autobiography is: Rowland V. Bingham, *Seven Sevens of Years and a Jubilee*, Toronto nd [1942 or 1943].

¹⁶³ He was converted in a Salvation Army meeting with a Jew preaching (J.H. Hunter, *Flame of Fire* 43ff).

¹⁶⁴ Lindsay Reynolds, *Footprints*, Toronto 1981, 179.

¹⁶⁵ The best source is: Reynolds, *Footprints* 1-320. Salmon has been undeservedly forgotten. In Jones, *Holiness Movement*, he is not even mentioned.

¹⁶⁶ Lindsay Reynolds, *Footprints* 179. There he met Helen Blair, daughter of the CMA branch president of Aberfoyle near Toronto, whom he married five years later (182). Bethany Chapel ("an independent church affiliated with the CMA") sent him in 1893 to the Sudan as an independent missionary (184). Salmon later became the most important member of the SIM home board (Min. Africa Industrial Mission 1898ff). He held this position in spite of the fact that the CMA had its own far reaching missionary programme.

¹⁶⁷ J.H. Hunter, *A Flame of Fire. The Life and Work of R.V. Bingham*, Toronto 1961, 268-274.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. 65.

¹⁶⁹ A comprehensive exposition of Bingham's views on healing is: Rowland V. Bingham, *The Bible and the Body. Healing in the Scriptures*, London/Edinburgh 1952(1921). In 1886 Bingham distanced himself from Simpson's position "that healing is in the atonement" (91).

¹⁷⁰ J.H. Hunter, *A Flame of Fire. The Life and Work of R.V. Bingham*, Toronto 1961, 85, 298.

Fredrik Franson was less directly involved in the Holiness Movement. But since Moody influenced him, he should have absorbed at least some of his holiness teaching, and before going to Scandinavia for the first time, he attended the Scandinavian Baptist Deeper Life Conference in Altamont (11.-13.10.1878).¹⁷¹ While in Denmark (and only there), he strongly emphasized divine healing.¹⁷² During his visit to London he was strongly influenced by Elizabeth Baxter of Bethshan Healing Home.¹⁷³ In Sweden he was a regular speaker at the camp meetings of the Helgelseförbundet in Torp,¹⁷⁴ side by side with the holiness evangelist Nelli Hall.¹⁷⁵ Franson shared holiness views similar to those of Keswick, but he never explicitly joined the movement.¹⁷⁶

Looking at some faith missions today, the early involvement in the Holiness Movement is somewhat a surprise. The AIM has been mentioned, the Gospel Missionary Union is another example.¹⁷⁷ Some missions were direct offshoots of American holiness groups: the Peniel Mission working in Egypt and the Hephzibah Mission in South Africa. In 1910 the World Gospel

¹⁷¹ Edvard Torjesen, *A Study of Fredrik Franson*, 80.

¹⁷² Ibid. 321-358. Soon he could not control the healing meetings, so he stopped them. But he continued to pray individually over the sick.

¹⁷³ Oral communication Edvard Torjesen 13.11.1987.

¹⁷⁴ See the news in "Trons Segar."

¹⁷⁵ Franson wanted to marry her, but she did not favour the match.

¹⁷⁶ Oral communication Edvard Torjesen 13.11.1987. - During his first evangelists' course he had still taught: "Present sanctification as a normal walk or growth in grace, not as some new experience or some new status" (Edvard Torjesen, *A Study of Fredrik Franson* 317). But this course had taken place before his visit to England, where he was strongly influenced by the Holiness Movement.

¹⁷⁷ The answer to my letter of inquiry was that there had never been any influences of the Holiness Movement. This reply does not match with the fact that the first GMU missionaries were sent out by the CMA and that Fisher was the CMA representative for the Middle West and member of the CMA general council. The early GMU magazines show clearly the prevalence of holiness teaching. Like the Central America Mission started by C.I. Scofield in 1890 it belonged to that branch of the Holiness Movement which was strongly influenced by the Prophetic Movement.

Mission was founded as the foreign missions arm of the National Holiness Association.¹⁷⁸

Arminianization of Calvinism

The close relationship of the early British and American faith missions to the Holiness Movement must be seen in the context of the process of Arminianization of Calvinism. The faith missionaries largely came from churches with a Calvinist theology, but in their revival (1859/1873) a major driving force was the holiness teaching, which was quite contrary to the Calvinist concept of sanctification. But those Calvinists who accepted the holiness teaching did not leave their churches but accommodated the new teaching in a Calvinist framework. The Holiness Movement was the major innovative force in evangelical circles for about two generations, so it is no wonder that the innovative faith missions played a prominent part in this process of Arminianization of Calvinism. Since this Arminianization took place within the framework of Calvinism, this meant that Calvinism could assert itself again as soon as the innovative forces subsided. This happened, when the Holiness Movement began to decline towards the end of the century, and the process of Re-Calvinization was speeded up by the birth of the Pentecostal Movement out of the Holiness Movement after the turn of the century, which removed much of the holiness impetus from the faith missions (and from the circles which supported them) into the Pentecostal missions (and the Pentecostal churches).

Among the three movements which so strongly influenced the faith missions, the Arminian Holiness Movement definitely was the strongest, but with its recess the other two movements, both from a Calvinistic background, could come more into their own: The Brethren Movement and the Prophetic Movement shared Calvinistic concepts of Dispensationalism.

¹⁷⁸ Bibliography and overview: Charles Edwin Jones, *A Guide to the Study of the Holiness Movement*, Metuchen NJ 1974, 9-95.

This means that till today there is a tendency to ignore, neglect or sometimes even to deny the holiness roots of the faith missions.¹⁷⁹

Today strict dispensationalism (as for example visible in American Fighting Fundamentalism) is regularly anti-charismatic (which includes being anti-holiness).¹⁸⁰ But at the time of the early faith missions this was definitely not so. As an example, may serve the Congregationalist pastor Cyrus Ingersoll Scofield (1843-1921),¹⁸¹ editor of the famous Scofield Bible.¹⁸² He was equally an exponent of dispensationalism and holiness teaching. He was the Christian and Missionary Alliance representative for the West, and in 1890 he founded the Central America Mission as the first American faith mission for Latin America. The background of the AIM is very similar: *Hearing and Doing* shows that holiness teaching and dispensationalism went hand in hand, but holiness teaching was the more basic layer. Within less than two decades the AIM had largely cut itself off from its holiness base,¹⁸³ but had kept its prophetic and dispensationalist emphasis. As the Prophetic Movement and the Holiness Movement had largely touched the same groups, where the Holiness Movement receded, often the Prophetic Movement alone held sway.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁹ Especially so in Germany: Andreas Franz, "Der Einfluß der Heiligungsbewegung auf die deutschsprachigen Glaubensmissionen" in: *Evangelikale Missiologie* 1992, 67-71.

¹⁸⁰ Clearly visible from Carl McIntire's sermons (Collingswood Bible Presbyterian Church 15.3.1986 and 22.3.1986). Also see: Carl McIntire, *Outside the Gate*, np. [Collingswood], Christian Beacon Press, 1967

¹⁸¹ His biography is: Charles G. Trumbull, *The Life Story of C.I. Scofield*, New York et al, 1920.

¹⁸² Cf. also: Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, New Haven/ London ⁹1979(1972), 808ff.

¹⁸³ In the first decade, AIM still recommended holiness Bible schools such as Peniel (*Hearing and Doing*, May 1900) and Hephzibah House (*Hearing and Doing*, Dezember 1905) for missionary training.

¹⁸⁴ Samuel J. Stoesz, "The Doctrine of Sanctification in the Thought of A.B. Simpson" in: Hartzfeld/Nienkirchen 107-123 [115].

What applies to the relationship between Holiness Movement and Prophetic Movement, applies to some extent even to the relationship between Brethren Movement and Holiness Movement. Today they have a very different doctrine of sanctification, the Brethren stressing its forensic aspects, the holiness people stressing its experiential aspect. In the early stages there was much overlapping between the two movements. Quite a number of Brethren assemblies originally were fellowships of the Holiness Movement, like Berlin Hohenstauffenstrasse, the original home of the Allianz Bibelschule Berlin (later Bibelschule Wiedenest, *now Forum Wiedenest).¹⁸⁵ Baedeker, the famous Brethren evangelist to Russia, was a holiness teacher, and at the Blankenburg conferences in Germany, holiness and Brethren teaching merged.¹⁸⁶ Another sign of closeness between the two movements was the close friendship between A.T. Pierson and George Müller. Andrew Murray even counted George Müller as belonging to the Holiness Movement.¹⁸⁷ That the Holiness Movement influenced the Brethren can also be assumed from Frances Bevan, who published German mystics for the Brethren,¹⁸⁸ supported by the fact (today quite astonishing) that among the early Brethren the sisters did not have to keep as quiet as later on.¹⁸⁹

The Continental Missions and the Holiness Movement

The leading figure in French faith mission circles was Ruben Saillens, former ELTI student and founder of the first Bible School in France, the Institute

¹⁸⁵ Ernst Schrapp (ed), *Im Dienst von Gemeinde und Mission. 75 Jahre Bibelschule und Mission*, Bergneustadt, 1980.

¹⁸⁶ At the 1896 Blankenburg Conference in Thuringia Hudson Taylor was a major speaker (Andreas Franz, *Hudson Taylor* 45).

¹⁸⁷ Andrew Murray, *The Two Covenants and the Second Blessing*, London 1899, appendix: "George Müller and His Second Conversion."

¹⁸⁸ Frances Bevan, *Hymns of Ter Steegen, Suso and Others*, London 1894; John S. Andrews, "Frances Bevan: Translator of German Hymns" in: *Evangelical Quarterly* 1962, 206-213; 1963, 30-38.

¹⁸⁹ F. Roy Coad, *Brethren Movement* 66.

Biblische in Nogent-sur-Marne.¹⁹⁰ His wife Jeanne Crétin, even before her marriage, had been led to the sanctification experience by the French preacher Paul Besson, and later Ruben Saillens organized at Morges the Swiss Keswick.¹⁹¹ Saillens strongly influenced both the Mission Rolland¹⁹² and the Mission Biblique en Côte d'Ivoire.

In the development of the Bibelschule Beatenberg, the first bible School in German speaking Switzerland, the same mixture as with Scofield can be found: A predominant interest in evangelism and missions, combined with dispensationalism and holiness teaching.¹⁹³ Gertrud Wasserzug accepted the holiness teaching from the CIM missionary Ruth Paxon,¹⁹⁴ whose books she published in 1932 with one of the leading German holiness publishing houses.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ Jeanne Saillens, *L'Institut Biblique de Nogent-sur-Marne. Coup-d'œil rétrospectif*, np, nd.

¹⁹¹ Wargenau-Saillens, *Ruben et Jeanne Saillens*, 145ff.

¹⁹² Saillens suggested that Rolland, a worker with Renault, go to Algiers as a missionary.

¹⁹³ This led to the astonishing fact that those students, who wanted to join the CIM, were neither acceptable to the Swiss [Chrischona] branch of the CIM, nor to the two associated missions (Schweizer Allianz-China-Mission and Diakonissen-Mutterhaus Ländli [Yünnan Mission]). See: Andreas Franz, *Hudson Taylor und die deutschsprachigen Glaubensmissionen* 127f.

¹⁹⁴ "Before we began our work in Switzerland, the home country of my husband, the Lord in His grace gave me a new great gift in meeting Ruth Paxon who pointed out so clearly: you must be filled with the Holy Spirit. I knew it was the power I needed to enter the great task the Lord had placed before us. It was again a day of grace when I accepted by faith the fullness of the Holy Spirit. Since that time, it is now more than 30 years ago, the power of the Holy Spirit is the promise of God in my life to strengthen me and give me the courage to work, to stand alone in the confession of the full inspiration of the Bible, to win souls and to overcome all difficulties of life" (Gertrud Wasserzug, *By the grace of God I am what I am*, nd, unpublished).

¹⁹⁵ Ruth Paxon, *Life On the Highest Plane*, 3 vols in one, Chicago 1928; German edition: Ruth Paxon, *Das Leben im Geist; Christus und die Gläubigen; Der Heilige Geist und die Gläubigen*, all Dinglingen 1932. 1944: *Ströme lebendigen Wassers*.

*Ruth Paxson extended her activities to several countries in Europe. At least in Belgium, where the Belgian Gospel Mission was in the centre, the reception was decidedly mixed, to some extent controversial.¹⁹⁶

The students from Beatenberg were not acceptable to the Chrischona Mission, the CIM branch in Switzerland. This may have had two reasons, one being that Chrischona did not share the dispensationalist theology of Beatenberg, the other reason that it had put aside the early holiness influences. Chrischona had started as a specialized classical mission with a seminary (for men only). After the death of Spittler (1867) Chrischona faced a severe crisis, including a 73,500 sfr debt. The task to solve this crisis was entrusted to Carl Heinrich Rappard (1837-1909)¹⁹⁷ and Dora Rappard¹⁹⁸ in 1868. Carl Heinrich Rappard was primarily an evangelist and transformed Chrischona into a fellowship movement.¹⁹⁹ In 1874 he attended the Oxford holiness conference and joined the Holiness Movement, started a magazine to promote holiness teaching (*Glaubensbote*) and an annual holiness conference. When Chrischona started its CIM branch in 1895, this was no longer a specialized classical mission,²⁰⁰ but an ordinary faith mission, as usual, strongly influenced by the Holiness Movement.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁶ *Aaldert Prins, *The History of the Belgian Evangelical Mission from 1918 to 1962*, PhD, ETF Leuven, 2015, 173-176. The Belgian Evangelical Mission had begun its work as a specialized faith mission during the First World War (The British and French Soldiers Evangelistic Campaign) concentrating on practical help to the soldiers and on literature distribution. After the end of the war it became a regular faith mission with the aim to establish churches.

¹⁹⁷ Dora Rappard, *Carl Heinrich Rappard. Ein Lebensbild*, 1910 (reprint Gießen/Basel 1983).

¹⁹⁸ She became famous as an author.

¹⁹⁹ Edgar Schmid (ed), *Wenn Gottes Liebe Kreise zieht. 150 Jahre Pilgermission St. Chrischona (1840-1990)*, Gießen/Basel 1990, 13.

²⁰⁰ A very good overview of the varied foreign mission history of Chrischona is: Lutz Behrens, "Gottes Werkzeuge in aller Welt. Die Pilgermission und die Äußere Mission" in: Edgar Schmid (ed), *Wenn Gottes Liebe Kreise zieht*, 106-117.

²⁰¹ Andreas Franz, *Hudson Taylor und die deutschsprachigen Glaubensmissionen*, 114ff.

Though the German speaking fellowship movement in connection with the conflict with the Pentecostal Movement, which in Germany originated from the (holiness) fellowship movement, rejected its early holiness origins, it is clear to the historian that almost all early German faith missions were strongly rooted in the Holiness Movement. This has been shown in detail for all the Hudson Taylor related missions.²⁰² The Alliance Bible School Berlin (designed for students from Eastern Europe) had similar roots as its connection to Toni von Blücher and Baedeker show, and other missions were strongly rooted in the Gemeinschaftsbewegung (Fellowship Movement) with its undeniable holiness roots (like Süd-Ost-Europa Mission, 1905). For Neukirchen there *seemed* to be little direct influence tracable.²⁰³ The Sudan-Pionier-Mission is related to the Holiness Movement through their founders, Lucy and Karl Kumm.²⁰⁴

In Scandinavia the situation is clear: The three early faith missions were all based in a holiness fellowship movement. One of them (Helgelseförbundet) even carried the tag in its name. Helgelseförbundet and Svenska Alliansmissionen were fellowship movements within the Lutheran church, the Örebro Missionsförening was a holiness movement within the Baptist Union of Sweden, started by John Ongman, who had come under the influence of A.B. Simpson while in America.²⁰⁵

²⁰² Andreas Franz, "Der Einfluß der Heiligungsbewegung auf die deutschsprachigen Glaubensmissionen" in: *Evangelikale Missiologie*, 1992, 67-71.

²⁰³ *My student Bernd Brandl proved me thoroughly wrong on this issue: Bernd Brandl, *Die Geschichte der Neukirchener Mission als erste deutsche Glaubensmission*, PhD, Evangelical Theological Faculty Leuven, 1997. Published as: *Die Neukirchener Mission. Ihre Geschichte als erste deutsche Glaubensmission* Köln/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Rheinland-Verlag/Neukirchener Verlag, 1998, English summary, 508-517.

²⁰⁴ The leadership was then taken over by Theodor Ziemendorf (1837-1912), a leader of the Hessian fellowship movement. How far he directly contributed to the Holiness Movement remains still to be assessed.

²⁰⁵ J. Magnusson, *50 år i ord och bild 1892-1942. Jubileumskrift för Örebro Missionsförening*, Örebro 1942, 12f.

Ethical Aspects of Holiness Theology

For the early faith missionaries, the search for holiness first of all did not mean the search for private perfection, but the search for power to serve. The holiness experience had led them to full surrender. They wanted to be effective evangelists and were willing to live a sacrificial life. Sometimes their sacrificial spirit even tended towards carelessness and made them take medical and logistic precautions lightly.²⁰⁶

Holiness as "power for service" was applied to evangelistic and social activities at the same time. The later opposition of some evangelical circles against social activities ("the great reversal") as a reaction against the Social Gospel was unknown to the 1859/73 revival yet. They were engaged in all kind of social activities: Help for the destitute, rescue missions, self-help schemes, orphanages. These activities were (1) never divorced from evangelism and (2) in most cases did not offer just help but offered to the people opportunities to redefine their role in life, for example to take the church into their own hands, as they did in the mission halls, fellowships and missions. Space does not allow to enlarge on this, only to describe a few aspects of it as far as the early faith missionaries are concerned.

For Lilius Trotter (Algiers Mission Band) "power for service" meant both: practical help and evangelism. In 1872 she was strongly influenced by the Holiness Movement, in 1875 she helped during Moody's London evangelistic campaign as a counsellor and sang in the choir. Soon she started evangelistic and social activities first among London sales girls, then among prostitutes.²⁰⁷ Geraldine and Lucy Guinness worked among the population of the East End both as evangelists and educators. Lucy cared especially for the factory girls. To be able to identify more closely with them, she turned

²⁰⁶ Fanny Guinness sums up experience when she writes that the early LIM missionaries should have been better equipped: "It would not do to risk the lives of missionaries for lack of Kroo-boy help" (Fanny Guinness, *The New World of Central Africa* 203, similarly 187).

²⁰⁷ Blanche Pigott, *I. Lilius Trotter. Founder of the Algiers Mission Band*, London/Edinburgh, nd, 4f; Francis Steele, *Not in Vain. The Story of North Africa Mission*, 122.

herself into one for some time.²⁰⁸ The number of examples of such activities could be easily multiplied.

The same applies to missionary work: No missionary without a medicine box, hardly ever a mission station in Africa without a school. That the evangelical missions only did evangelistic work can only be said in ignorance or against knowing better. All over Africa where the government allows, the missions support a regular school system, hospitals, and more recently, quite some development projects from youth clubs via chicken farms to reforestation.²⁰⁹

A case where social concern, so common in the Holiness Movement, turned into political activity, is connected to Harry Guinness. As was taught at Keswick, he had accepted for himself the "rest of faith" and he was convinced that he was to do all in his power that as many as possible would find this same rest. The very first precondition for that was to be alive. His (and his family's) convictions were put to the test by the "Congo atrocities,"²¹⁰ which, promoted by the Congo Free State ruled by Leopold II, depopulated whole villages to get more rubber.²¹¹ Even the very first agitation against the atrocities was connected to the Guinness family. The

²⁰⁸ About her experiences she wrote: *Only a Factory Girl*, London 1896. See: Grattan Guinness, *Lucy Guinness Kumm. Her Life Story. With Extracts from her Writings*, London 1907, 9; Michele Guinness, *Guinness Legend* 178-182.

²⁰⁹ There are occasional exceptions: The Gospel Furthering Fellowship in Kenya does only spiritual work (Int. George L. Machamer, Nairobi, 29.12.1986).

²¹⁰ See also: W.D. Armstrong, *Sunrise on the Congo*. A record of the earlier years of the Congo Balolo Mission, unpublished (283) nd, 204 and 239ff.

²¹¹ The Congo Question is treated in detail in: S.J.S. Cookey, *Britain and the Congo Question 1885-1913*, London 1968. Harry Guinness is mentioned six times (109-111, 143f), but as Cookey did not care to use RBMU documents or books, Guinness is only seen from the viewpoint of the Aborigines Protection Society (for Fox Bourne he was a "slippery customer" [111]) and the Congo Reform Association, for which he only started to work in 1904.

first to make the atrocities public in Europe was J.B. Murphy of the ABMU,²¹² which had taken over the ELTI related Livingstone Inland Mission in 1884. In 1896 two other missionaries of the ABMU (Banks and Sjöblom) made the atrocities again public. Sjöblom, working at Bolenge,²¹³ had been trained at the ELTI, joined the Congo Balolo Mission in 1892 and changed to ABMU in 1893.²¹⁴ In May 1896 Harry Guinness travelled to Brussels to intervene with Leopold II. He related to the king what he had learned from Bolenge. Among other things he told him:

On December 14th, 1895, my friend, Mrs. Banks, had been crossing the station compound at Bolengi when she saw a poor woman being beaten by a native sentry, and on enquiring what the matter, the sentry replied 'She has lost one!' 'One what?' enquired Mrs. Banks. 'Why, one of the hands,' said the sentry. And then Mrs. Banks noticed that the basket on the back of the woman was filled with human hands. She immediately called her husband and Mr. Sjöblom, who happened to be on the station at the time, and the hands were counted in their presence. There were eighteen in all, and the angry sentry still asserted that there ought to have been nineteen! Some of these smoked hands were those of children, some of women, and some of men. And undoubtedly most of them had belonged to relatives of the unfortunate woman who was carrying them. 'Where are you taking these?' asked one of the missionaries. 'To the White man' (the State man), 'to whom

²¹² S.J.S. Cookey, *Britain and the Congo Question 1885-1913*, London 1968, 40; Mackintosh, *Dr. Harry Guinness. The Life Story of Henry Grattan Guinness*, London 1916, 70.

²¹³ Equator/Bolenge was in 1883 the last station founded by LIM close to what is today Mbandaka. It was handed over to the ABMU in 1884, which passed it on to the Disciples of Christ in 1889.

²¹⁴ The Swedish Baptist Sjöblom had gone to Britain in 1891 to work there, attended ELTI and in 1892 became a missionary of the Congo Balolo Mission, joined the ABMU in 1893 (but continued to be supported by Swedish Baptists). He worked first in Bolenge, then in Ikoko, where he died in 1903 (*Baptistmissionens årstryk* 1911, 31; Cecilia Irvine, *The Church of Christ in Zaire* 104). See also: David Lagergren, "En ringa begynnelse - en historisk insats" in: David Lagergren (ed), *I Kongo. Svensk baptistmissionen under 50 år i ord och bild*, n.p. 1969, 22ff; David Lagergren, *Mission and State in the Congo. A study of the relations between Protestant Missions and the Congo Independent State authorities with special reference to the Equator District, 1885-1903* [Studia Missionalia Uppsaliensia XIII, 1970].

I have to prove that I have been diligent in pushing the rubber business, and who would punish me, if I did not compel the people to bring in a sufficient quantity.'²¹⁵

The king promised to investigate. He asked for the names of the guilty officers and had them removed. For the missionaries things definitely improved, but later they learned that the guilty officers had only been removed to posts further removed from "missionary control" to carry on as usual.²¹⁶ In 1904 Harry Guinness decided for public agitation²¹⁷ and during the winter months of 1904/1905 he gave many talks (illustrated with laterna magica and a hippo hide whip which had been used to beat people to death for not collecting enough rubber) for the Congo Reform Association.²¹⁸ Lucy Kumm shared her brother's concern, and during the final weeks of her life in Northfield²¹⁹ she put all her energy into writing a booklet on the issue, *Our Slave State*.²²⁰ Harry Guinness had two more audiences with Leopold II, and on his way to visit RBMU missionaries in

²¹⁵ Grattan Guinness, *The Congo Crisis*, London 1908, 17f, italics in the original.

²¹⁶ C.W. Mackintosh, *Dr. Harry Guinness. The Life Story of Henry Grattan Guinness*, London 1916, 71.

²¹⁷ See Harry Grattan Guinness, *Congo Slavery. A Brief Survey of the Congo Question from the Humanitarian Point of View*, London, nd "Just because the missionaries know the possibilities of the Congo natives, they stand in the front row of those who demand that they shall be freed from their present oppression" (31). This book also contains detailed eye-witness accounts by CBM missionaries.

²¹⁸ C.W. Mackintosh, *Dr. Harry Guinness. The Life Story of Henry Grattan Guinness*, 72-74.

²¹⁹ Her husband Karl Kumm had asked her to join him in America to help in establishing the American branch of SUM and to stay on after he had to return to Britain. Northfield was Moody's home and also after his death still a Christian conference center with special emphasis on holiness teaching.

²²⁰ It has not been possible to trace a copy of this manuscript. It was to be published under the title "Our Slave State." But it was never printed (Michele Guinness - Fiedler 29.2.1988).

Peru, went out of his way to see President Roosevelt in Washington.²²¹ In 1908 Grattan Guinness published a kind of final appeal, *The Congo Crisis*.²²² He was convinced that others had now to put all their weight into the agitation.²²³ The same year the crisis began which led to the closure of the ELTI in 1910. Grattan Guinness died that same year, Harry Guinness in 1915.

As a whole, holiness theology had strong emancipatory results. This was especially visible in the results of holiness theology on the emancipation of women, but that will be treated in another chapter. Be it only be mentioned here that Finney's Oberlin College was the first to introduce co-education and also that it offered the same education to black and white students. Coeducation became the general pattern of all the bible schools. A similar process of emancipation took place for lay people against the clergy, with many of the faith mission founders seeing no need for being ordained.

Holiness theology posed the question, what power justification by faith had. Was justification just a forensic act or was it the first step in an effective life of service? Was it sufficient to experience forgiveness of sin or was, in addition, victory over sin possible and required? The Holiness Movement gave a clear answer: Two steps are necessary: justification - sanctification. Since the Holiness Movement accepted all the denominations, this meant that for them there were three groups in the church: the unconverted, the converted and finally those who had experienced sanctification. All this was Arminian theology, which most faith missions never explicitly embraced. By not doing so they were most open to influences from the Holiness Movement. But they were open the other way round, too, so when the holiness influences subsided, Calvinistic concepts of holiness could assert themselves again. The holiness theology of the African faith mission churches can be seen as a result of this process.

²²¹ He reminded the President of his duty as the United States were a signatory power of the Berlin Act. It is not known what impression Harry Guinness made on Roosevelt (Michele Guinness, *The Guinness Legend*, 275).

²²² Grattan Guinness, *The Congo Crisis*, London 1908.

²²³ His impression was right. After 1907 the Congo Question was a major diplomatic issue between Britain and Belgium (Cookey, *Congo Question* 208ff). About 1908 a severe financial crisis began to hit ELTI, which led to its closure in 1910 (Min. RBMU 4.3.1910).

Chapter 8: The Rigorous Christian Life: Faith Missions and African Holiness

Holiness preaching in America and Europa, so dear to almost all the early faith missionaries, was essentially revival preaching. The holiness preachers and evangelists preached their message to people who had long been converted and yearned for the higher or deeper or victorious Christian life. This preaching usually did not take place within the context of the established churches of the various denominations, but within movements which organized and financed themselves and thus in some way competed with the church establishment. The Holiness Movement did not reject the churches, but by teaching a message, which the churches usually did not have, it was nevertheless critical of the churches.

When the faith mission missionaries came to Africa, they could not preach holiness because where they started their work, there were no Christians yet. Even those missionaries, who at home had been quite critical of the churches, here in Africa first of all had to establish such churches, and they had to do this not by means of holiness preaching, but by preaching conversion (including such auxiliary means as educational, technical or medical services).

Since the process of conversion in the beginning was a very slow one, it is understandable that not much room and energy was left for holiness preaching. But even after churches had been established, the sources indicate very little holiness preaching. It is very difficult to know in detail what the missionaries preached, but they definitely did not try to build in Africa the holiness structures they were used to like conferences, camp meetings or fellowship groups.¹ They did not translate holiness literature into African languages nor did they create their own holiness literature in them. But to observe the fact that the missionaries worked in a situation so different from what they were used to at home is only part of the answer. The other factor that has to be taken into account is that in Africa the

¹ *This was different in the Seventh-day Adventist missions. Very early in their work in Malawi they instituted regular camp meetings, first at the central mission station, then becoming increasingly decentralized.

missionaries had changed roles: They could no longer be critical of the church establishment, but they had become the church establishment. So it is understandable that they were not interested or not able at the same time to erect structures which would of necessity compete with their own establishment.

Some exceptions, though, should be noted. The SAGM instituted in 1906 in Wellington an annual conference on the Keswick pattern.² But that conference was for Whites. The SAGM's pioneer work among black Africans did not differ much from that of other missions. The World Gospel Mission in Kenya with its strong holiness roots consciously tried and tries to pass on its holiness heritage to the Africa Gospel Church, but felt it often difficult to do so.³ The early WEC missionaries in North Eastern Zaire also tried to lead the people not only to faith in Christ but also to a "victorious life."⁴ The same is reported from the Angola Evangelical Mission. But though there may have been other cases, even in the early faith missions there was very little holiness preaching in the terms of the Holiness Movement.

² The dominant personality of these conferences was Andrew Murray (Leona Choy, *Andrew Murray, Apostle of Abiding Love*, Ft Washington: Christian Literature Crusade, 1978), *the spiritual father of the Dutch Reformed missionary work in Central Malawi (Nkhoma Synod). Many of the women missionaries were clearly influenced by the Holiness Movement during their training.

³ This endeavour was clearly visible during the youth conference which I attended on 17.12.1986. Opinions differ on how far the WGM succeeded in passing on the holiness message (Int. Bill Reincheld 18.12.1986; Int. NNN 16.-18.12.1986, Kericho). - *The transmission of the holiness message was also seen as difficult in the Free Methodist Church in Malawi (Pers. Comm. Henry Church).

⁴ The *Congo Mission News*, the paper of the Congo Protestant Council, published (1946, 12) an obituary for Jack Harrison, successor of C.T. Studd, which thanked God that especially during the last months of his life many men and women did not only seek salvation but also the victorious life. See: Norman Grubb, *Successor to C.T. Studd. The Story of Jack Harrison, London 1949* and Mary Harrison, *Mama Harri - and No Nonsense. Missionary Memoirs of a Congo Casualty*, London 1969.

It is not easy to become a church member

This does not mean that the faith missions did not preach holiness in Africa, but there their holiness preaching underwent an obvious process of "recalvinization." The center of holiness preaching was no longer the "Arminian" second blessing experience, but the "Calvinist" striving to live a godly life. This striving to live a holy life frequently expressed itself in strict ethical rigorism, which even for the "Arminian" missionaries was not at all a strange thing,⁵ since almost all missionaries, irrespective of more Arminian or more Calvinistic leanings, came from new spiritual movements quite critical of society (and established church).⁶ Ethical rigorism tends to turn itself into legalism when the spiritual impulses, which supported a certain rigorism, diminish.⁷ Also when a "rigorous" group grows in numbers and comes more to terms with society, its ethical rigorism is reduced.⁸

⁵ Their ethical rigorism even made some of them conscientious objectors against military service. An example for this attitude is Drysdale, holiness evangelist and founder of the missionary training school in Birkenhead, which was very important for the early WEC (Norman Grubb, *J.D. Drysdale, Prophet of Holiness*, London 1955). This attitude was also shared by many of the early Pentecostal leaders, later largely to be lost in the process of "evangelicalization of Pentecostalism"). His own change of attitude from "thoughtless enthusiasm" to a much more critical position Norman Grubb describes in his: *Once Caught, No Escape. My Life Story*, Ft. Washington 1963, 184-187.

⁶ For the role of ethical rigorism in religious group identity see: Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*, 1919(1912), 967ff; Walter Hollenweger, *Enthusiastisches Christentum. Die Pfingstbewegung in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Wuppertal/Zürich 1969, 461ff.

⁷ In some groups with strong fundamentalist leanings rigorism seems to have shifted to theology (fight against new Bible translations, against the World Council of Churches, against compromise and Communism etc.). A case in point would be the Northern Ireland fundamentalist leader (in no way connected to the faith missions) Ian Paisley. See for ex.: Ian R.K. Paisley, *The New English Bible, Version or Perversion*, Belfast nd; *Messages from the Prison Cell*, Belfast 1966.

⁸ This applies definitely to ECWA (E.T.P. Crampton in: Ogbu Kalu, *Christianity in West Africa. The Nigerian Story* 175).

When the faith missionaries started their work in Africa, a situation similar to their own at home developed: Together with (the small number) of their converts they were a minority in conflict with the "church" of the majority of society, the African Traditional Religion. So they could continue to teach and practise their ethical rigorism.⁹ As much as they were willing to clash with Western culture in their attempt to live a holy life, so they were prepared to clash with African culture. These issues have received sufficient attention of missionaries, missiologists and historians alike, so there is no need to review the whole issue of "church and African culture" here.¹⁰ Only a limited number of aspects will be treated which shed some special light on the faith missions or on some of them.

Delayed Baptism

One observation is that in many of the early faith missions it was not easy to be admitted to baptism, and in some of the faith mission churches this is still the case.¹¹ Lacan, the first elder of Langtang congregation (SUM, now COCIN) was converted in 1914 and only baptized in 1919.¹² In Lupwa congregation (SUM-US) two adults were baptized after being "faithful

⁹ In many respects the classical missionaries had been in a similar situation, because they also came from revival movements. But as the revival they came from was half a century older and less critical of the established churches, their ethical rigorism had usually quietened down somewhat.

¹⁰ My own contribution to this issue is a book on classical missionaries who professed an explicitly positive attitude to African culture: *Christentum und afrikanische Kultur. Konservative deutsche Missionare in Tanzania 1900-1940*, Gütersloh 1983. For an example of decreasing rigorism (Moravians) see 53-58, for an example of a less critical attitude to the established churches (Bruno Gutmann) see 33-52. *A revised and extended version is: Klaus Fiedler, *Christentum und afrikanische Kultur. Konservative deutsche Missionare in Tanzania 1900 – 1940*, Mzuzu: Luviri Press, 2017.

¹¹ Cf. also Smith, *Nigerian Harvest* 45.

¹² Peter Spartalis et al., *The History of COCIN* (unpublished). He had to wait, though his conversion was "visible." He had burnt his cult objects, and both his wives had left him, taking the children with them. He even had to fetch water himself.

enquirers for at least six years."¹³ For Benvinda Vaz Martins, the only woman in full time service of the Igreja Evangélica da Guiné Bissau [WEC], there was a period of five years between conversion and baptism,¹⁴ and Johana Ng'etich, the first pastor of the Africa Gospel Church [WGM], was even accepted into the church before his baptism.¹⁵

Since most faith missionaries took the reports of Acts not only as historic, but also as normative, they accordingly should have developed a pattern of baptism following soon on conversion. And indeed, there often have been tendencies in this direction. According to later opinion, the early CMA baptized too early in Zaire.¹⁶ The same is reported about WEC missionaries in Burkina Faso.¹⁷ Most marked was C.T. Studd's change of attitude towards baptism. In the early days of the Heart of Africa Mission [WEC] baptism was administered very soon after professed conversion,¹⁸ and when, after some

¹³ Edgar H. Smith, *Nigerian Harvest*, Grand Rapids 1972, 45.

¹⁴ Int. Benvinda Vaz Martins, Bissau 5.8.1986. She even had received the call to full time service before she was baptized. When already in Bible school at Bissau, she realized that she would have to be baptized. The early WEC missionaries in Guinea Bissau had concentrated on evangelism, not on church structures.

¹⁵ He came first into contact with Christianity in December 1911, his conversion dates 1913 (at the latest), he was accepted into the church on 5.8.1917 and, together with his wife whom he had married around 1912, was baptized in 1919. In 1920 both were married in church (Burnette and Gerald Fish; *Rev. and Mrs Richard Adkins, The Call to Battle*, Kericho 1982).

¹⁶ CMA, 5th annual report (1901/02), 27. They were now convinced that "waiting is a test which often manifests the spurious converts, and so saves future trouble." In this they now conformed to the classical missions.

¹⁷ Int. Rev. Jean Kambou, Président d'Église Protestante Évangélique de Burkina Faso 13.1.1987. Of those baptized in the beginning no one is a church member any more. In a general report about WEC's work in West Africa it is stressed that caution is being exercised not to baptize too quickly (*Weltweit* [Schweiz] May 1952).

¹⁸ In the Welle area, where the missions started, the missionaries, basing their argument on Acts, baptized not long after conversion. So differently from the classical missions, some individuals were baptized soon. When the mission started to work in the Ituri, soon a mass movement developed, and baptisms were more numerous and even speedier (Norman Grubb, *Mit Studd im Kongo*, Wuppertal

time, some of the newly baptized "disappointed" the missionaries, Studd did not only suspend baptism,¹⁹ but even the celebration of the Lord's table. Only in 1938, seven years after Studd's death, was baptism reintroduced into the church.²⁰ Studd based his action on the tenet that "without holiness no man shall see the Lord" (Heb. 12,4).²¹ Studd never tried to work out a doctrine of a church without sacraments, his decision just to abolish them for a certain time must be understood in terms of his radical personality, but supported by the general conviction of the faith missions that finally faith was decisive, not the sacraments. Though most probably there was never a similar case of temporary abolition of the sacraments in the faith missions, it must nevertheless be seen only as a most extreme variation of a quite general attitude. In the present day churches which have their origin in WEC only a small proportion of the believers (who confess their faith and try to live accordingly) has ever been baptized.²² A similar attitude is on record for the early Neukirchen Mission.²³ Héli Chatelin reported from

1961, 76). The theological principles behind this practice are described in detail in: Alfred Buxton, *Nala Methods*, London 1916. The oldest pastor still living, who remembers those days, is of the opinion that only later people were baptized "according to good order" (Int. Pastor Ndugu 9.1.1987).

¹⁹ Today this suspension of baptism is interpreted as a reaction against the Catholic practice, "just demanding to have one wife only, but the old life could continue unchanged" (Interview with six CECCA16 representatives 12.1.1987). It can also be seen as "a hard measure to combat the idea, prevalent in an animistic people, that the rites and ceremonies were the important thing" (Margret White - Fiedler 22.2.1993).

²⁰ Interview with six CECCA16 representatives 12.1.1987.

²¹ Norman P. Grubb, *Mit Studd im Kongo* 75.

²² Int. Alastair M. Kennedy, WEC Regional Secretary for Africa (Abidjan) 10.1.1987. This applies especially to Ivory Coast and Ghana, but also to Guinea-Bissau, though the church there is over 50 years old. But even in Zaire the majority of those who attend church has never been baptized (Int. Douglas Craig 10.1.1987).

²³ David L. Miller, "Problems and Possibilities in the Period of Colonial Consolidation: Christian Missions and Lower Pokomoni, circa 1900-1920" in: *Ostafrikanische Völker zwischen Mission und Regierung. Referate einer Arbeitskonferenz in Erlangen 16.-18. Juni 1982*, 143-163 [147f].

Lincoln a good church attendance, conversions and the employment of evangelists, but as long as he lived no baptism took place.

A most extreme case still exists at the borderline between faith missions and classical missions. The Reformed Church among the Tiv in Nigeria²⁴ is famous for its strict church discipline and for the immense difficulty to become a church member,²⁵ so that the ratio of regular attenders to church members now stands at 17:1.²⁶

Relative to the time of baptism three tendencies can be distinguished: (1) Immediate baptism, conversion being, like in Acts, the only precondition. (2) Suspended baptism, which will then take place after the convert has shown her or his worth over a period of usually years. (3) Baptism after a prolonged period of learning. This became in the long run the pattern mostly adhered to in the faith missions, which adapted their earlier practice and theology to that of the classical missions.

The faith missions did not try to come to theological terms with their policy of delaying baptism in one way or another. As for the faith missions the basic mark of the church was conversion, a new definition what conversion meant in an African context should have been attempted. When someone in the revival climate of Europe of those days professed "to believe in Christ," he or she knew what that meant and what was expected. But for an African, to whom Christianity presented itself as a new and attractive religious and cultural force, to profess belief in Christ first of all meant to join that religion and culture. Possibly the redefinition of conversion in an African context should have taken this into account, defining conversion not as a momentous event, but as a process (learning included) culminating in a deep inner commitment.

²⁴ 1911-1916 part of SUM-RSA. The missionaries then joined their work to the Dutch Reformed Church they came from, which in 1950 handed a part and in 1961 all back to the SUM, Christian Reformed Church Branch [US].

²⁵ For a thorough treatment of its history see: Eugene Rubingh, *Sons of Tiv. A Study of the Rise of the Church Among the Tiv of Central Nigeria*, Grand Rapids 1969. Cf. also E.T.P. Crampton in: Ogbu Kalu, *Christianity in West Africa* 168-173.

²⁶ Cf. E.T.P. Crampton in: Ogbu Kalu, *Christianity in West Africa* 169;198-200.

A New Definition of Conversion or: The Chronological Approach

One faith mission, the New Tribes Mission, did indeed redefine conversion. This did not happen through theological reflection, but by introducing a new way to preach conversion, the "chronological approach." Paul Fleming and Paul Lin, with whom the NTM originated in Malaysia, used the conventional approach of conversion preaching, even using sometimes a tent, and more than 3000 conversions were reported over a period of two years. The chronological approach does not start with preaching the necessity of conversion, but with teaching very gradually (and lively-narratively) the history of salvation, starting with creation, and culminating, after a year or so of weekly meetings, in the "giving of the Gospel." This method was first developed by Trevor McIlwain among the North Palawan in the Philippines,²⁷ and it caught on very fast in almost all of NTM, because the missionaries were frustrated by the easy-going conversion preaching of their earlier days²⁸ and because many felt that narrative evangelism would be better adapted to the culture of their listeners than the often cumbersome systematic teaching of the truths of the Christian faith.²⁹

In Senegal, where NTM had started to work in 1954 in cooperation with WEC with few results to show for much effort, in recent years the

²⁷ Trevor McIlwain, *The Chronological Approach to Evangelism and Church Planting*, Sanford 1985 (provisional edition).

²⁸ "The early missionaries were imbued with dedication and zeal, which sterling qualities were surpassed only by monumental naivete. Perhaps it is always so where the young and exuberant throw themselves headlong into the conflict of the ages. Hundreds [were] hastily baptized on the profession of 'faith', when a large percentage of them had not the foggiest notion of what was implied either in salvation or baptism. In those heady days, the least sign of assent on the part of any was joyfully seized upon as evidence of yet another 'convert.' Unfortunately, the distilled darkness of centuries is not always dissolved in a blinding flash by the first recitation of Four Things God Wants You To Know, and even less so when the first declaration is given in a trade language only partially understood by the listeners" (Tom Steffen, Pre-Evangelism: Part II in: Outreach [NTM Research and Planning] Dec. 1981,2).

²⁹ Int. John Mikitson 27.7.1986.

chronological approach was introduced in all areas. Now missionary work is seen as going through three phases: (1) Cultural and linguistic learning, at least a year, but usually two or three.³⁰ During this phase of "pre-evangelism" there is neither preaching nor teaching.³¹ (2) The phase of "chronological evangelism." In about 70 units, usually spread evenly about a year or more, the story of salvation from creation to ascension is being taught as vividly as possible. During all the teaching of the OT stories,³² the name of Christ is never mentioned, but the missionary speaks of God's order, of his wrath, speaks about the various offerings and the need for redemption, and if possible, even enacts the stories.³³ There is no singing, there are no prayers, no church building is erected, not even a school.³⁴ Only after at least a year, usually in connection with the story of Christ's passion, the Gospel is presented to the group,³⁵ and the missionary (or whoever

³⁰ In Madina Bafe the pre-evangelism phase is, after two years with five missionaries, nearing its end. Chronological teaching is to start on 1.1.1987 (Int. Frank Lyttleton 28.7.1986).

³¹ Cf. Tom Steffen, "Pre-Evangelism" in: *Outreach* Sep. and Dec. 1981.

³² The importance put on OT salvation history necessitated the early translation of certain sections of the OT (Dick Sollis, "Scripture Translation and the Chronological Approach" in: *Outreach* April 1985,1-2). Trevor McIlwain, "Old Testament Teaching for New Testament Saints" in: *Outreach* Sep. 1984,1-3 stresses the necessity for the young churches. For a list of texts recommended for translation see: Trevor McIlwain, "Key Old Testament Passages for Translation" in: *Outreach* Dec. 1983,1.

³³ It is highly appreciated when this narrative approach is accompanied by some drama (cf. Bob Kennell and George Walker, "The Bisorio Work in Papua New Guinea"(p. 5) in: *Outreach* Sept. 1983,1-9).

³⁴ The New Tribes Mission [different from most faith missions] sees the provision of social services as not being part of its job. But this does not exclude informal assistance, for example helping with medical problems. Literacy work is seen as part of the mission's job.

³⁵ When an individual participant in such a course has obviously already developed the ability to understand the Gospel, the missionary may present it to him individually before its being due according to the chronological approach (Int. various missionaries, NTM Senegal 26.-28.3.1987).

"teaches" the "course") asks his listeners politely but in clear terms to decide for the Gospel of Christ.³⁶

(3) The third phase is that of spiritual growth. It starts with a repetition of the stories told in the previous phase, but this time each story is related to the New Testament and special emphasis is put upon God's grace. After that the teaching will be conducted through five further levels.³⁷ All this instruction is given in meetings for believers' only, while the missionary (or even one or more of the new believers) try to win other people or people in other places by way of "chronological evangelism."³⁸ It is hoped that the group of believers then decides to build a meeting house, to organize itself as a church etc,³⁹ but most of all that it will evangelize elsewhere, using the same approach.⁴⁰

The chronological approach has, up to now, been most effectively used in the Philippines among the Bisario, where several churches have been

³⁶ After having presented the Gospel in this way, the missionary tells his listeners that those who do believe that, should come to see him. In Chobo, where this decisive moment was first reached in Senegal, the next day five of the twelve participants contacted the missionary. Two from outside Chobo also came. The aged mother of one of the converts never came to see the missionary but participates in all believers' meetings (Int. John Mikitson 27.7.1986). See also: John Mikitson, Breakthrough in Chobo in: Under the Sun, West African Field Paper NTM February 1986, 1f.

³⁷ In Africa no missionary has yet reached further than level 2. The plan thereafter is: 3. Acts of the Apostles for new converts 4. Romans to Revelation for new converts 5.-7. The texts of level 2-4 applied to more mature Christians (Trevor McIlwain, *The Chronological Approach to Evangelism and Church Planting*, Sanford 1985 [provisional edition], 39-50).

³⁸ One of the five original Chobo converts, now [1986] teaches level 1 in Ténkoto (Int. John Mikitson 27.7.1986).

³⁹ Until the middle of 1986 no wish to build a meeting house had been expressed. Communion has been celebrated twice. As soon as the rains start, there is to be a baptism (ibid.).

⁴⁰ Trevor McIlwain uses many of Roland Allan's ideas, though without directly referring to him. In the early NTM Roland Allan's books were required standard reading.

started in this way. As hoped for, Bisario Christians used the chronological approach for their own evangelism, and even people won in this way have been baptized by now. In Senegal, up to now the only NTM field in Africa, this method has still to prove its worth, but it seems to present a serious alternative to the usual practice of fast conversion and slow baptism.

A rigorous church

Two aspects of African culture, to which the classical missions usually reacted more generously, were the consumption of alcoholic beverages and dancing.⁴¹ Most faith missions either forbade the drinking of alcohol⁴² or helped their converts to come to such a decision.⁴³ Some even forbade the brewing of beer, and since this was exclusively a women's job, that rule created a host of problems for Christian wives whose husbands were not Christians.⁴⁴

Whereas some of the classical missions tolerated dancing or even tried to integrate it into the life of a congregation, the faith missions could not see the point in accepting in Africa what was not acceptable to them in the culture they came from. For the missionaries both decisions were comparatively easy to make, as they had dealt with the matter in their own

⁴¹ But not all classical missions reacted more generously. See for Malawi: Kenneth R. Ross, *You did not Dance: Christianity and Recreation in the African Context* (Faith and Knowledge Seminar No. 13, Chancellor College Chaplaincy, University of Malawi, 1992) *published as: "Reflections on a Theology of Recreation in the African Context" in Kenneth R. Ross, *Gospel Ferment in Malawi: Theological Essays*, Gweru: Mambo-Kachere, 1995, pp. 139-151.

⁴² For example, AIM and GMS in Kenya (Sandgren, *The Kikuyu* 285). But of the classical Missions also some did so, for ex. the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Malawi (Heleman A. Kamukhwani, *A Brief History of Mvera Congregation*, BD University of the North, 1981, 91; 106).

⁴³ For a good example see: William E. Dawson, *History of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission work in Africa 1892-1920*, nd [1933] (unpublished), p. 47.

⁴⁴ For example, the Mahon Mission in South Africa (William Burton, *When God Makes a Missionary. The Life Story of Edgar Mahon* [revised by Alfred J. and Margaret Mahon], Zion 1961[1936], 69). – *This is also true in a number of the classical missions, for example in Malawi.

culture. But how to deal with circumcision and related initiation rites, they had never to deal with in their own (sub-)cultures? The issue became even more complicated by the fact that in the OT one form of circumcision (that of male infants) was a divine command, and in the NT an accepted fact. But nevertheless, much of it was repugnant to the Western faith missionary, and even if the operations be accepted, what about the heathen practices inextricably connected to them? The faith missions' response varied, though wholesale rejection was the most frequent answer.

The most drastic case in this respect was probably the controversy over girls' circumcision in Kenya,⁴⁵ in which the AIM, after the Church of Scotland Mission, played the leading role. The controversy has been described several times,⁴⁶ so that it will suffice here to add some information on the AIM's role in the conflict⁴⁷ and bring out what this conflict meant for the faith missions' concept of the church. The controversy was started by the Church of Scotland Mission at Kikuyu under the leadership of Dr. Arthur,⁴⁸ but the two faith missions, AIM and Gospel Missionary Society (GMS), resolutely joined the CSM. Four factors made the controversy what it was:

⁴⁵ The best source for the traditional custom is: Jomo Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya*, London 1968(1938). His description refers to the AIM area.

⁴⁶ See: David Sandgren: *Christianity and the Kikuyu. Religious Divisions and Social Conflict*, New York 1989 (PhD University of Wisconsin-Madison 1976 [UMI]); Robert W. Strayer, *The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa. Anglicans and Africans in Colonial Kenya 1875-1935*, Nairobi et al. 1986 (Ch. VIII, written in conjunction with Jocelyn Murray); Jocelyn Murray, *The Kikuyu Female Circumcision Controversy, with special reference to the Church Missionary Society's sphere of influence*, PhD, UCLA 1974. Much information is also found in: John A. Gration, *The Relationship of the Africa Inland Mission and its National Church in Kenya Between 1895 and 1971*, PhD New York University 1973 (UMI).

⁴⁷ The brief presentation of the controversy in the mission's standard history is pious fiction: "Slowly the church recovered from its setback. Members who had fallen away because of the high standards adopted, gradually found their way back, and numbers built up again. But the standards were never relaxed and those who returned had to accept them" (Kenneth Richardson, *Garden of Miracles. The Story of the Africa Inland Mission*, London, 1976, 78).

⁴⁸ He had started his career as a physician and had then been ordained.

(1) Among a progressive educated minority of the (Christian) Kikuyu there developed a tendency to get rid of such a useless custom as circumcision, especially of girls.⁴⁹ (2) With the growing establishment of the mission (and the diminution of contact to the people resulting from it⁵⁰) the missionaries saw a realistic chance to confront and abolish a custom which they saw as meaningless and, from the medical point of view, as positively dangerous. (3) But the great majority of the Kikuyu, Christians included, saw circumcision as an integral and most important element of their culture. (4) The missions' fight against clitoridectomy was seen by the Kikuyu nationalist movement as yet another attempt at the subjugation of the Kikuyu.⁵¹

The original attitude of the AIM respective circumcision was quite acceptable to the Kikuyu: The AIM saw circumcision as a heathen thing it could not accept, but did nothing to enforce this view.⁵² The Kikuyu Christians could follow the mission's ruling or could take it just as an opinion expressed.⁵³ If parents wanted circumcision for their children and still "avoid everything pagan," the AIM arranged for circumcision, even for girls, at Kijabe Hospital.⁵⁴ By doing so circumcision was divested of its communal

⁴⁹ A.J. Temu, *British Protestant Missions*, London 1972, 157 refutes this idea: "There is little doubt, now, that reports of the missions stating that the African church leaders agreed that laws should be passed against female circumcision, is not correct." He uses no primary sources, but categorically states that the missionaries just forced the decisions upon the Africans (155f). But already in 1920 there had been an African initiative in the Githumu area to forbid clitoridectomy (John A. Graton, *The Relationship of the Africa Inland Mission and its National Church in Kenya Between 1895 and 1971*, PhD, New York University 1973, Ann Arbor [UMI] 1974, 139).

⁵⁰ David Sandgren, *The Kikuyu, Christianity and the Africa Inland Mission*, PhD University of Wisconsin-Madison 1976, 198-200.

⁵¹ Cf. Jomo Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya*, London 1968(1938), 135.

⁵² David Sandgren, *The Kikuyu, Christianity and the Africa Inland Mission*, 216.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 207.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 206 (based on Int. Johanna Nyerjeri 25.10.1970 NCKK Limuru Archives).

character, but girls and boys so circumcised were nevertheless accepted as adult members of Kikuyu society.⁵⁵

In 1926, feeling backed by medical opinion in the mission, the AIM started openly to fight clitoridectomy.⁵⁶ In 1929 in Kambui a girl was forcibly circumcised, and the GMS missionaries took the case to court,⁵⁷ but the circumcisers only got meaningless punishments.⁵⁸ This made the missions enhance their pressure. Following the lead of the CSM, the AIM now demanded a clear denunciation of clitoridectomy, first from church employees only, but then from every church member, from every pupil attending a mission school and from the pupils' parents, be they Christian or not.⁵⁹ This was usually understood as an oath.⁶⁰ About 90% of all AIM members and

⁵⁵ This was also the case among the Tiriki in Kenya (Walter Sangree, *Age, Prayer and Politics in Tiriki, Kenya*, London 1966). All over East Africa the initiation rites tend to lose their communal character and to become family rituals. Even where there was no mission influence, the duration of initiation has been reduced, often drastically so (Marja-Liisa Swantz, *Ritual and Symbol in Transitional Zaramo Society with Special Reference to Women*, Gleerup 1970, esp. 151-162).

⁵⁶ David Sandgren, *The Kikuyu* 208. Even in the UMCA, where Bishop Vincent Lucas Christianized circumcision, medical opinion did not agree (Leader Stirling, "Ritual Circumcision in Southern Tanganyika" in: *East African Medical Journal* Juni 1941, 35f).

⁵⁷ Church of Scotland, Confidential Memorandum Prepared by the Kikuyu Mission Council on Female Circumcision, Kikuyu 1.12.1931 [National Archives of Scotland ACC 7548 D64], 35-39. The AIM had shared in the preparation of this memorandum of 104 pages and supported it fully.

⁵⁸ The women were not fined because they circumcised the girl, but because they performed the "big" operation instead of the small one (for definitions see Memorandum 1f.). The Local Native Council Kiambu had outlawed only the "big" operation (Memorandum 37f).

⁵⁹ John A. Graton, *The Relationship of the Africa Inland Mission and its National Church in Kenya Between 1895 and 1971*, PhD, New York University 1973, Ann Arbor [UMI] 1974, 139.

⁶⁰ This "oath" was taken by signing a document, if necessary by finger print (*kirore*). Those who signed were therefore termed "kirore" in Kikuyu usage.

adherents refused to sign,⁶¹ and the few "loyalists" came under heavy social pressure. The dramatic culmination of the confrontation was the murder of Hilda Stumpf on 3.1.1930.⁶² The last Sunday of 1929 she had, as secretary of the mission, in Kijabe church composed the (short) list of those who signed the oath.⁶³ Under the combined pressure of events and colonial administration the AIM gave in in 1932. Only the office bearers of the church had to sign the oath, but pupils could attend school without any restrictions and soon one could even become an ordinary Christian without the oath.⁶⁴

The circumcision controversy has often been interpreted as a quarrel between "the missionaries" and "the Kikuyu." This view of things assumes that all missionaries were of the same opinion⁶⁵ and that Africans, who shared the missionaries' opinion, did so only under pressure from the missionaries.⁶⁶ In order to reach a fair interpretation, it may be useful to take

Stauffacher - Campbell 17.9.1930 uses the term "vow" which he uses in the same letter also in "baptismal vow."

⁶¹ Lee Downing (field leader) in *Inland Africa* XV, 3 (1931). David Sandgren, *The Kikuyu, Christianity and the Africa Inland Mission*, 252, estimates 95%.

⁶² Parts of today's oral tradition assume that an attempt had been made to circumcise her by force. The extant AIM correspondence relating to the event does not support this idea, though it supports the idea that the murder had something to do with the controversy (cf. also *New York Times* 6.1.1930). The Chief Justice agreed to the opinion of the prosecution that there was no relationship between the murder and the controversy (*East African Standard*, Nov. 1930). The accused was acquitted by the court. Though there is no proof that the murder had anything to do with the controversy, it is clear that it was largely assumed that it had. See: Downing - Grimwood 31.1.1930; Grimwood - Downing 3.3.1930. Cf. also: Gratton, *Africa Inland Mission* 145-148.

⁶³ Virginia Blakeslee, *Beyond the Kikuyu Curtain*, Chicago 1956, 191.

⁶⁴ Sandgren, *The Kikuyu* 253 based on District Commissioner, Kiambu - Provincial Commissioner, Nyeri, 27.1.1932 [Kenya National Archives PC/CP 8/1/2]. Kenyatta calls this a "gentlemen's agreement" (*Facing Mount Kenya* 131).

⁶⁵ At least in CSM, AIM and GMS. The CMS was divided, Methodists and Catholics refused to join the fight against clitoridectomy.

⁶⁶ ==A.J. Temu, *British Protestant Missions* 157 (no sources given!).

the circumcision controversy into account which 1923-1926 shattered the Lutheran church on the slopes of Mt Kilimanjaro, but in which the missionaries took the opposite side.

Leipzig Mission medical opinion was, understandably, not very favourable to clitoridectomy. But the mission, which held the view that the mission should not interfere with the church's attitude to the adiaphora (things that are neither intrinsically good nor bad), could do very little to combat clitoridectomy, since that was obviously an adiaphoron. When in 1920, because of the Versailles Treaty, all Leipzig missionaries had to leave Tanzania,⁶⁷ the annual conference of teachers (who acted as pastors⁶⁸) and elders was given the leadership. This conference discussed the issue of circumcision (making no distinction between girls' and boys') in 1922 and decided in January 1923 to forbid circumcision "as being contrary to the Bible."⁶⁹ The parallel missionary conference, composed of recently arrived American Augustana Synod [Lutheran] missionaries, ratified the decision, since the *indigenous church* could regulate on adiaphora.⁷⁰ After this ratification, the "teachers" rigorously began to implement the new regulation. Exercise books were distributed, and everyone had to sign that he or she would have nothing to do with circumcision, male or female. Anyone accepting circumcision or in any way conniving in it, was expelled from the church. The conference of teachers and elders explicitly endorsed the punishments, and it was only in 1926, when the Leipzig missionaries were allowed to return, that Bruno Gutmann of Old Moshi was able to quell the initiative. Being (correctly) convinced that he knew the mind of the Chagga

⁶⁷ Only Eisenschmidt, a German from the Baltic States, was allowed to stay as he was classified as a Russian. But he played no role in the controversy.

⁶⁸ In the Lutheran Church on Kilimanjaro the first Africans were only ordained in 1934. *For the context see: Klaus Fiedler, *Christentum und afrikanische Kultur. Konservative deutsche Missionare in Tanzania 1900 – 1940*, Mzuzu: Luviri Press, 2017, 122-126 and Klaus Fiedler, "Bruno Gutmanns konservative Modernität," *Evangelische Missiologie*, 2017, 38-56.

⁶⁹ Min. Missionary Conference 6.-13.9.1927; *Evangelisches Missionsblatt* 1926,29. The Leipzig sources do not record why circumcision was supposed to be contrary to the Bible, oral tradition at Kidia equally does not know the reason(s) given.

⁷⁰ Min. Missionary Conference 6.-13.9.1927.

congregations better than their elected leaders, with the help of some other missionaries he forced the Chagga leaders to withdraw the regulation.⁷¹ They resisted as long as they could, but stood no chance against the returned Leipzig missionaries, who had the support of the vast majority of the Chagga Christians.⁷²

Though this controversy had shattered the congregations indeed, the missionary world did not take notice. There is no hint that the Kenya missionaries knew anything about this controversy which might have been a warning for them, though at least some were aware of Vincent Lucas' attempts to Christianize circumcision among the Yao in Southern Tanzania.⁷³ But the Chagga circumcision controversy may now help to shed some additional light on the controversy among the Kikuyu, because the Chagga circumcision controversy could not be seen as a conflict between Africans and European missionaries, but must be seen as a conflict

⁷¹ The teachers and elders resisted two full days but had finally to admit defeat. "Finally, complete understanding was reached between the missionaries and the Christians, and the natives thanked the missionaries, especially also B. Gutmann." The decision read: "For the Chagga congregations circumcision shall not be forbidden, but it shall also not be seen as permitted by the church. If a Christian wants to undergo circumcision, he must be informed that this is a custom which the church wants to abolish. He is alone responsible for his action (Min. Missionary Conference 3.-7.9. 1925 [translations K.F.]).

⁷² Cf. Klaus Fiedler, "Bishop Lucas' Christianization of Traditional Rites, the Kikuyu Female Circumcision Controversy and the 'Cultural Approach' of Conservative German Missionaries in Tanzania" in: Noel Q. King; Klaus Fiedler (eds), *Robin Lamburn - From a Missionary's Notebook: The Yao of Tunduru and other Essays*, Saarbrücken/Ft. Lauderdale 1991, 207-217.

⁷³ Sandgren, *The Kikuyu* 255. For his approach see: Vincent Lucas, "The Educational Value of Initiatory Rites" in: *IRM* 1927,192-198; "The Christian Approach to Non-Christian Customs" in: E.R. Morgan, *Essays Catholic and Missionary*, London 1928 (114-151), also: *Christianity and Native Rites*, London 1950. For interesting details see: Robin Lamburn, "The Yao of Tunduru" 28-68 in: King/Fiedler, *Robin Lamburn*. The analysis of a historian is: Terence O. Ranger, "Missionary Adaptation of African Religious Institutions: The Masasi Case" in: T.O. Ranger, I.N. Kimambo, *The Historical Study of African Religion*, London/Ibadan/Nairobi 1972, 221-251.

pertaining to issues of Christian ethics, in which the dividing lines did not follow the racial divide. This necessitates the conclusion that the Kikuyu who opposed clitoridectomy were not just loyalists, but like the Chagga teachers a progressive minority, which failed to understand that they could lead their fellow Christians in many things, but that their leadership was not acceptable in all matters.

It is interesting to note that the various groups acting in the controversies displayed a considerable esprit de corps. Filipino Njau, who led the fight against circumcision at Old Moshi congregation, had done nothing to combat circumcision before in 1922/23 the teachers' conference had decided to abolish it. But then suddenly he put all his weight into the issue, and in the end, when the missionaries' conference in 1926 rescinded the teachers' conference's laws, he did not even inform the church. And when the resident Augustana missionary inquired about the congregation's reaction, Filipino Njau created the impression that the congregation had refused to accept the new ruling.⁷⁴ But never had the congregation received any news about it.

The AIM missionaries displayed the same esprit de corps. Hilda Stumpf had grave doubts at least about how the fight against girls' circumcision was conducted.⁷⁵ When even after months the virtual boycott of the mission school had not come to an end, even other missionaries quietly voiced their doubts which they had already had before. John Stauffacher, the only AIM missionary among the Maasai, complied carefully (though very reluctantly) with the group decision of the missionaries, demanded the oath from his congregation with the result that only three boys were left in it.⁷⁶ Among the Chagga teachers as among the AIM missionaries, a small, but very vocal minority, had carried the day with their argument, because the others were not so vocal and maybe not so sure of their argument.

⁷⁴ Min. elders' council, Kidia congregation, Kidia 19.5.1926.

⁷⁵ John A. Gration, *The Relationship of the Africa Inland Mission and its National Church in Kenya between 1895 and 1971*, PhD, New York University 1973, Ann Arbor [UMI] 1974, 147f.

⁷⁶ Stauffacher - Campbell 17.9.1930.

There is one difference between the two controversies: The Chagga did not at all differentiate between girls' and boys' circumcision. The majority of the Kikuyu actually saw it the same way, and even the AIM missionaries in the early stages did not want to differentiate, but they had to accept that the New Testament permitted male circumcision "without heathen rites."⁷⁷ For the interdiction of female circumcision only medical reasons remained.⁷⁸

Although quite a number of AIM missionaries were horrified over the loss of 90% of their church members,⁷⁹ many others felt the controversy to be a painful, but necessary means to ensure "high standards" among the African Christians.⁸⁰ For a time at least, the mission had opted for achieving the holiness of the church by adopting a rigorous ethical code, suited only for a minority. Stauffacher as much as his congregation at Narok clearly recognized the problem. In a sermon on Rev. 21:27 he emphasized that the oath [written down as it were in an exercise book] did not mean that one's name was entered into the book of life, but that for this only faith in the blood of Christ would be sufficient. As a response his listeners asked him, if that be so, why then should female circumcision be such a terrible sin, that it would those who believe in Jesus exclude from the church.⁸¹ Although the AIM compromised after a time, there was no general move back to the AIM,

⁷⁷ David Sandgren, *The Kikuyu, Christianity and the Africa Inland Mission*, 203.

⁷⁸ A number of missionaries seem to have held the idea that this argument was not sufficient. They demanded that the "justified interdiction" of female circumcision should be extended to include male circumcision as well (Stauffacher - Campbell 17.10.1930).

⁷⁹ Already in mid-year 1930 some did no longer demand the oath (Stauffacher - Campbell 17.9.1930). Cf. Sandgren, *The Kikuyu* 252.

⁸⁰ Kenneth Richardson, *Garden of Miracles. The Story of the Africa Inland Mission*, London, ²1976 (1968), 78.

⁸¹ "They wanted to know why female circumcision was such a deadly sin that it had to be separated from all the other sins enumerated in the Baptismal vow, and that this should have a special vow. Many of them do not raise the question at all as to whether circumcision is right or wrong, but they object to the vow as being unfair, and in their own minds I am certain it is confusing and endangering the Solid Rock of Salvation by Faith" (Stauffacher - Campbell 17.11.1930).

but a general move into African Independent Churches.⁸² The AIM's original *raison d'être* had been to reach the unreached for Christ, this had been exchanged against reaching the rigorous for Christ.

In refusing to allow polygamy the faith missions did not differ very much from the classical missions. But they had to come to terms with the thorny issue what to do with polygamists who sincerely confessed their faith in Christ. Wasn't faith in Christ the (only) condition for baptism?

In the early years some faith missions saw things exactly that way. They opposed polygamy, but divorce even more so. How then could one combat the evil of polygamy (practised in the Old Testament and not too explicitly forbidden in the New) by the sin of divorce (and divorce was explicitly forbidden by the Lord and the apostles)? So church membership (and baptism) must be possible to those who entered a polygamous union before being converted, though "bishops and deacons" (1 Tim 3,2.12) must have one wife only.⁸³

In baptizing polygamists under these conditions, the faith missions in Africa followed the example of the CIM, but the difference was that polygamous marriages in China were rare, in Africa frequent. Studd, Buxton and the early WEC missionaries in Zaire readily baptized polygamists,⁸⁴ but after

⁸² David Sandgren, *The Kikuyu* 257. The churches resulting from these controversies (but not from AIM/GMS only) are the African Independent Pentecostal Church of Africa and the African Orthodox Church (Sandgren, *The Kikuyu* 267-312. Cf. Barrett, *Kenya Churches Handbook* 231f).

⁸³ An example for this position was: "We believe that the Scriptures teach that any believer who has entered into union with more than one wife while in unbelief must be excluded from all office and leadership in the Church (Titus 1:6; 1 Tim 3:2, 12.) until such time as the union has been dissolved in a manner approved by the Church, and that all received as members shall be expected to give evidence of repentance for the sinful life which has entangled them in unholy unions, and a willingness and desire to separate from these entanglements as speedily as possible and in such manner as shall be honorable alike to the individual, the Church and the State" (Min. SIM 7.4.1913).

⁸⁴ Described in detail, including the argument from Scripture, in: Alfred Buxton, *Nala Missionary Methods*, London 1916, 5-7.

"disappointments" Studd stopped baptisms altogether and when in 1938 baptisms were resumed, there was no thought any more of baptizing polygamist believers.⁸⁵ In a similar way in the early Mid Africa Mission polygamous men were regularly baptized.⁸⁶

In South Africa the SAGM came to the conclusion that it would be more consonant with Scripture to baptize polygamous men than to refuse baptism to them.⁸⁷ The Livingstone Inland Mission also felt it unjust to divorce a wife to allow her husband to be baptized.⁸⁸ The early SUM only ruled that an elder must not be polygamous.⁸⁹

To baptize all polygamists who sincerely confess their faith in Christ would have been consonant to the understanding of the faith missions that conversion (and faith and life resulting from it) is the basic constituent element of the church.⁹⁰ But this position, held by many in their early days,

⁸⁵ To the CECCA16 of today these polygamous baptisms make no sense (Int. Pastor Ndugu 9.1.1987).

⁸⁶ Among the 150 converts baptized in the first baptism, there were many polygamists, including a man who had six wives (Margaret N. Laird, *They Called Me Mama*, Chicago 1975, 91f). The founder of the Mid Africa Mission had earlier served with WEC. The Mid Africa Mission later became the Fundamentalist Baptist Mid Missions.

⁸⁷ South Africa General Mission, Memorandum on Polygamy, nd [ca 1905?].

⁸⁸ "If a man is a polygamist when converted we do not make him put away any of his wives. To do so in Africa would be very wrong" (Henry Richards, Banja Manteka, quoted in: Fanny E. Guinness, *The New World of Central Africa* 429.). The early Qua Iboe Mission, also connected to Fanny Guinness, saw things differently. When Chief Egbo, who had arranged that the letter asking the Presbyterian Mission at Calabar for a white teacher was written (which the United Presbyterian Mission then had passed on to Grattan Guinness) wanted to become a Christian, he had no doubts that he had to dismiss eleven of his twelve wives (Gracie Bill, David Ekong. Called. Chosen. Faithful. The Story of the first convert and pastor of the Qua Iboe Mission nd 14). A reason for this may have been that the first Christian preachers at Qua Iboe were not the QIM missionaries, but Presbyterian Christians from Calabar (11).

⁸⁹ Constitution of the Sudan United Mission (revised) 11.9.1912.

⁹⁰ *To make faith the only precondition for baptism is proposed by: Moses Mlenga, Polygamy in Northern Malawi. A Christian Perspective, Mzuzu: Mzuni

the faith missions soon gave up and practically all of them made polygamy an absolute hindrance to baptism.⁹¹ In this they conformed to the practice of the classical missions, which also, in India and China, had accepted an occasional polygamist into the church, but refused to do the same in Africa.⁹²

*To baptize converted polygamists had also been the position and guidance of Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, mission leader of the Pietist Revival, but when Traugott Bachmann, Moravian missionary among the Nyika in Tanzania in the first decade of the 20th century proposed to do the same, he was forbidden to do so in order not to break the solidarity of "all the missions."⁹³

Like the classical missions the faith missions also had to decide if polygamy was the same obstacle to baptism for women as for men. The early Congo

Press, 2016. He sees polygamy as opposed to God's will but being tolerated in the Old Testament and not clearly denounced in the New Testament; therefore, it cannot be made the unforgivable sin. In addition, Jesus (and Paul) strongly objected to divorce, so the Church, following Jesus, is not allowed to demand divorce to rectify the sin of polygamy, as one sin cannot be healed by demanding another (with all its consequences for the dismissed wives and their children.) See esp. pp. 200-203.

⁹¹ For ex. Constitution and Policy of the Africa Inland Mission, Philadelphia 1912, 20. Others see this differently: "The biggest single error of all Christian missions in Africa has been to declare monogamy a non-negotiable condition of baptism" (Harry R. Boer, "My Pilgrimage in Mission" in: *IBMR* 1987,172-175).

⁹² For the discussion of this development see: *Klaus Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture. Conservative German Protestant Missionaries in Tanzania 1900-1940*, Blantyre: CLAIM-Kachere, 1999, 69-75. In the early Basel missionary work in South Cameroon at least one polygamist was baptized. *The Livingstonia Mission in Northern Malawi baptized the father of Mopo Jere, a very old man (Moses Mlenga, *Polygamy in Northern Malawi. A Christian Perspective*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2016, 172.)

⁹³ *Ibid, 31-32. The famous Protestant missiologist of the Great Awakening, Gustav Warneck, stated that biblically there was no objection to the baptism of polygamists, but that the Moravian Mission should wait first for a Protestant mission consensus to be reached, which, of course, never happened.

Balolo Mission made no difference and baptized only first wives. The Balolo did not appreciate this attitude, since the Catholics and the neighbouring Disciples of Christ baptized all wives of a polygamous marriage.⁹⁴ In refusing baptism to polygamous women, the early faith missions were more rigorous than the classical missions, but over the years practically all faith missions conformed to the practice of the classical missions completely to refuse baptism to polygamous men, while at the same time admitting all polygamous women to it.⁹⁵ The rationale for this rule was provided by the juridical fiction that in Africa women had no legal possibilities to dissolve a marriage.⁹⁶ In reality this decision meant that the missions were willing to accommodate to polygamy in practice, while at the same time fighting it in theory.

Church Discipline

The rigorous Christian life was to be safeguarded in the faith missions not only by delay of and rules in admission to baptism, but also by church discipline. This was fitting to their concept that faith must become visible in Christian commitment and ethics, and that only those belong to the church who have experienced saving faith.

⁹⁴ The Yuli elders declared: "We are greatly exercised over the matter of polygamy, but our people are beginning now to understand the mind of God concerning it. If we go over to the DCCM our people will again return to the old practice, and then, when will they learn the truth?" (Accompanying letter, Min. Field Conference at Ikau 9.-18.10.1930).

⁹⁵ Polygamous men could be baptized after dismissing the additional wives. But that presented problems, too: Chief Pedro of Akurenan in Equatorial Guinea used the occasion of his attending the monthly court session also to visit the WEC missionary Alec Thorne (Kiwi). In the course of a longer conversation he told Kiwi that God had dealt with him in the matter of his three wives. He would dismiss the first two wives and keep the youngest. Kiwi did not accept this as what God wanted of Chief Pedro and told him that he had to keep his first wife, the mother of his two daughters (Prayer letter Alec Thorne Nr 36, Juni 1940).

⁹⁶ The legal position of wives in African societies varies greatly, but usually they have legal access to divorce. Even in those societies where women had easy access to divorce, the practice of baptism was not changed accordingly.

In the early years church discipline, often handled very individually, was a means of safeguarding the rigorous Christian commitment, but with growing numbers of church members church discipline in the faith missions as in the classical missions has tended to become ever more summary and legalistic, taking as its base the first commandment: "Thou shalt have only one wife." To marry a second wife means expulsion from the church until this second wife is dismissed again or the first wife dies. Premarital pregnancies are also rewarded with automatic church discipline, and in many faith mission churches also "marriage by eloping."⁹⁷ As a whole, sexual sins are quite stringently punished, whereas other sins like embezzlement of church funds, drunkenness⁹⁸ or accusing someone to be a witch are treated lightly or are even overlooked.⁹⁹ The standardized legalistic pattern of church discipline proves that the faith mission churches have not been able to cope well with rapid numerical growth and the growing up of third and fourth generation Christians.¹⁰⁰ Largely church discipline is no longer a means of pastoral care, but a means to safeguard dwindling ethical values in a changing society.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ See chapter 11 for details.

⁹⁸ In many cases, where the use of alcohol is not permitted, even its abuse is not subjected to church discipline. It does happen that church elders are known as drinkers (*walevi*), which may also mean drunkards (Int. NNN).

⁹⁹ For ex. Int. Alastair M. Kennedy 10.1.1987.

¹⁰⁰ For ex. Int. Alastair M. Kennedy 10.1.1987 (general assessment of the WEC related churches, all of which he knows); From a journey to further the CECCA16 foreign mission programme Mission CECCA Zaire, the WEC missionary Margaret White reports: "I just can't describe the hordes of young people who came for the slides in the evenings, but the churches have virtually nobody who knows how to relate to them and reach them for the Lord. The church leaders recognize that they are getting old and hardly any young people are coming forward to take their place" (Circular letter 20.2.1988). These two assessments are supported to varying degrees by Int. NNN.

¹⁰¹ *Joyce Mlenga studied for her PhD the interface between African Traditional Religion and Christianity among the Ngonde in Northern Malawi found that church discipline rarely was able to overcome dual religiosity, but that a personal Christian commitment would drastically reduce the frequency of overlaps (Joyce Mlenga, *Dual Religiosity in Northern Malawi*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2016, 296).

Can one learn to be a Christian?

Conversion is central to the faith missions' understanding of the church. When the missionaries started to preach conversion in their respective areas of work, they usually had plenty of time to explain what conversion and the Christian life meant, because conversions were few in the early years, when to become a Christian often meant to lose one's standing in society. But it usually took not that long until conversion to Christianity began to mean identification with social progress and often an enhancement of social prestige. This made people much more easily willing to become converted, long before they had undergone the long period of Christian preaching that was usual for the early converts. "Faster" conversions led to the introduction of pre-baptismal instruction, again, following the pattern set by the classical missions. "Profession of conversion" was—at least in theory—precondition for admission to baptismal instruction, but admission to baptism depended on faithfully and successfully completing the course of baptismal instruction, usually lasting one or two years.

This definitely created the impression that Christianity was something to be learned like the things one learned in school. The situation is today that the larger faith mission churches, in spite of constant conversion preaching,¹⁰² must be classified as churches, in which to be a Christian can be learned. Thus they have to quite some extent confirmed to the pattern of the folk-church, so prevalent in the classical missions, though one difference remained: In the classical folk-churches to be a Christian is "learned" after (infant-)baptism and in the faith mission folk-churches it is "learned" before (teenager-) baptism. But in both types of churches the real condition for full membership is not conversion (as the faith mission churches claim), but successful learning or at least a serious attempt at it.

Holiness preaching often has undergone a drastic process of change. While for the missionaries holiness meant spiritual power for service, for their converts it tended more to mean striving for a rigorous Christian commit-

¹⁰² "Every Sunday in church we hear an evangelistic sermon" (Int. Mrs Downing 13.12.1986). "Every Sunday the Sunday School teacher asks 'Who wants to believe?' Many lift up their hands, not only once" (Int. Alice Ndolo, 28.12.1986).

ment, whereas today in third and fourth generation faith mission churches holiness preaching is often little more than exhortation to behave well.

Back to revival

The faith missions were born in revival, and revival usually meant "a profound sense of sinfulness, confession, the assurance of forgiveness and a strong missionary urge."¹⁰³ Such a revival cannot be taught or organized, it occurs as a work of the Holy Spirit. If a revival breaks, this always creates tension in the churches so blessed, and often revival results in Denominational splits.¹⁰⁴ In every case revival is critical of "nominal Christianity" and low Christian commitment. The revival preaches holiness (often in very strict terms), but also makes accessible the power to lead such a committed life. The second and third generation faith mission churches with all their tendencies towards folk-churches, were ripe then for revival. How would the churches and the missionaries react if such a revival broke in their area, where they had come to represent the church establishment?

The most dramatic revival occurred in 1928 in the Qua Iboe Mission in Nigeria.¹⁰⁵ It started among the mission's teachers. Where it exactly originated, could not be ascertained.¹⁰⁶ The revival seems to have developed for some time inconspicuously, but then came into the open with many enthusiastic manifestations. Suddenly prayer meetings were more intense, the regular teacher training sessions were transformed into fellowship meetings, regular evening meetings suddenly lasted until daybreak etc. Many repented of sins that had remained hidden for years, others returned money, "forgotten" over a long time, others suddenly became reconciled.

¹⁰³ Stephen Neill, *Christian Missions*, Harmondsworth: Penguin 1966(1964), 501.

¹⁰⁴ David Barrett has drawn the attention convincingly to the fact that the so called African Independent Churches were born not only in schism but also in revival. See the title of his book: *Schism and Renewal in Africa. An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements*, OUP, 1968.

¹⁰⁵ For a reflective description of this revival see: J.W. Westgarth, *The Holy Spirit and the Primitive Mind* nd (unpublished). Typed copies are available at QIM (Belfast) and at CENERM (Selly Oaks).

¹⁰⁶ J.W. Westgarth, *The Holy Spirit* 1.

Sometimes non-Christians were gripped by an unexplainable power and brought their cult objects to the church to have them burnt. All these things, though clothed in a different cultural guise, had occurred in the 1859/73 holiness revival. What is interesting to note, but difficult to explain, is the fact that the revival only spread to some parts of the church. Westgarth, one of the leading missionaries, understood the movement as graceful visitation by the Spirit,¹⁰⁷ and he only tried to curb what was obviously excessive.¹⁰⁸ Where a congregation explicitly refused entry to the revival, it could achieve only little.¹⁰⁹ Like all revivals, this one ebbed out, too, after some time. No fellowship movement formed itself to carry on the revival tradition, but through it the Qua Iboe Church gained many new members and some of its future leaders.

The revival which started in 1947 from Nguédi in [French] Congo took a similar course. The Svenska Missionsförbundet's missionaries did not try, despite quite some "Pentecostal" characteristics, to suppress the movement. It remained within the church, and the church today still benefits from it.¹¹⁰

In the WEC area of North Eastern Zaire it was Edith Moules who, caused by a severe illness of her husband Percy, came into contact with the East African Revival in Rwanda. She invited Rwandese evangelistic teams, and a revival spread all over the area of what is now CECCA16.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Westgarth had some previous experience. While at the Bible Training Institute in Glasgow he had witnessed the Wales 1904 Revival. For a critical review of this revival, written by a participant, see: J. Vyrnwy Morgan, *The Welsh Religious Revival 1904-5. A Retrospect and a Criticism*, London 1909.

¹⁰⁸ It is astonishing that he took the speaking in tongues which occurred as genuine, in spite of the 'terrible experiences with the tongues-movement' (Westgarth, *The Holy Spirit* 10).

¹⁰⁹ Westgarth, *The Holy Spirit* 14.

¹¹⁰ Hilaire Nkounkou et al., *75e anniversaire de la fondation de Madzia et de l'évangélisation du Congo par les missionnaires protestants*, Brazzaville 1984, 16; Int. Curt Olofson 29.1.1987; Johan Gustafson, Kongo Vaknar, Stockholm, 1947.

¹¹¹ Int. Evangéliste Bamata-Ambenese 9.1.1987; Réport du Président de CECCA16 au Assemblée Generale 1987; Interview with six CECCA16 representatives

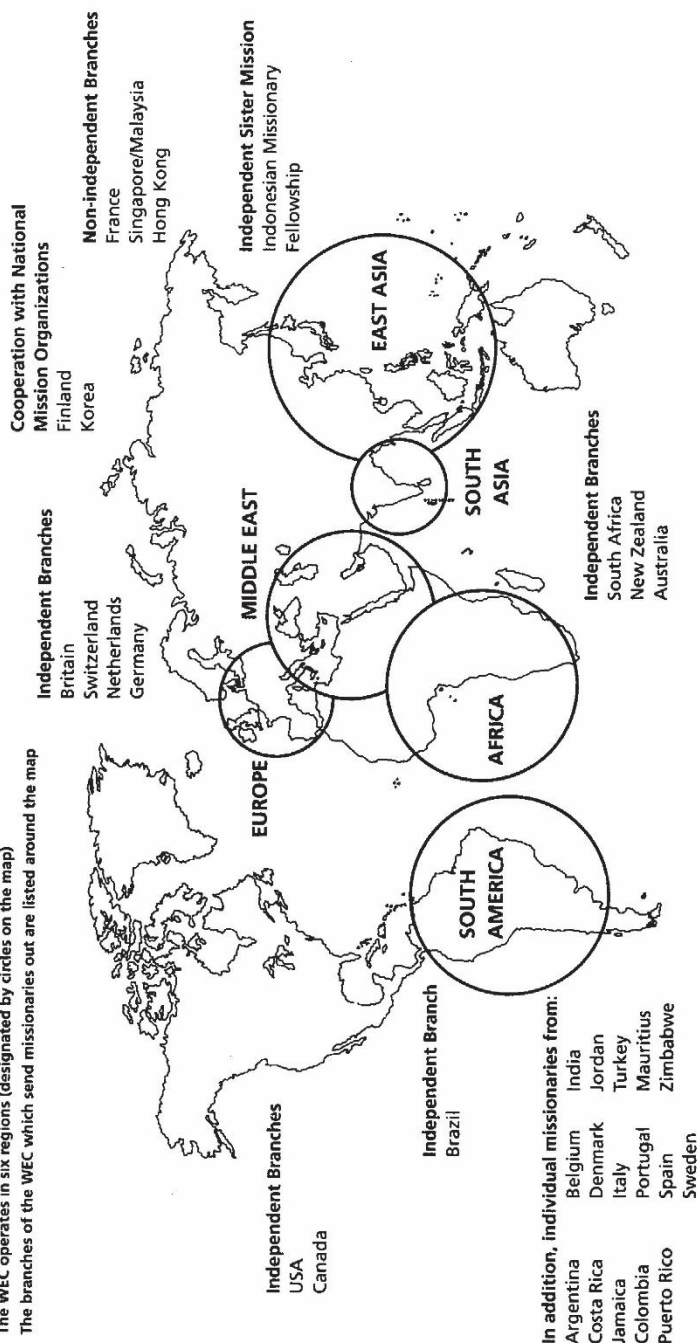
In the revival movements described here, the missionaries were confronted with their own spiritual heritage. They lived up to their heritage, accepted the revival and did not attempt to drive it out of the church, though these revivals also challenged the establishment. In churches which more and more become folk churches, revival movements are guardians of much of the holiness tradition of the church. If a church takes the Christian teaching on holiness seriously, it does well to accept the movements which, though they pose a challenge (sometimes excessively so) to the establishment, help to safeguard an important aspect of the Church, One, Catholic, Apostolic and Holy, as the creeds confess.

What should be the role of the faith missions in present day's faith mission "folk-churches"? The missions, which represented the revival movements critical to the established churches, had switched sides in Africa, establishing churches there, which now, after maybe three generations, are being challenged by new revival and renewal movements. If the faith missions want to be true to their own revival heritage, they should again here and there switch sides, encourage revival movements, maybe even try to bring revival about, even if that means dissociating to some extent from the structures of those churches which they themselves had helped to establish.

12.1.1987. For an earlier revival see: Eva Stuart Watt, *Floods on Dry Ground*, London 1940.

THE WORLDWIDE STRUCTURE OF WEC INTERNATIONAL

The WEC operates in six regions (designated by circles on the map)
The branches of the WEC which send missionaries out are listed around the map



Chapter 9: A Propelling Vision: The Faith Missions and the Prophetic Movement

Of the three movements which "constituted" faith mission theology, the Prophetic Movement remains to be considered. As with the Holiness Movement, the Prophetic Movement cannot be treated as such, but just in its impact on the faith missions. To assess its impact, two things must be seen: (1) It brought a drastic change in eschatology. (2) Today's faith mission eschatology must not necessarily be the same as in the early faith mission years.¹

Classical Mission Eschatology: Postmillennialism

The classical missions and the revival which had brought them into existence followed a premillennial eschatology.² This postmillennial eschatology was most forcefully propagated by Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758), the leading theologian of the Great American Revival (ca. 1726-1760).³ Edwards expected Christ's return after the Millennium. This would come about in a gradual process of revivals and social reform.⁴ Part of this

¹ Klaus Fiedler, "Shifts in Eschatology – Shifts in Missiology," in Klaus Fiedler, *Conflicted Power in Malawian Christianity: Essays Missionary and Evangelical from Malawi*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2015, 260-280.

² See: Iain H. Murray, *The Puritan Hope. Revival and the Interpretation of Prophecy*, Edinburgh/Carlisle PA 1984(1971), esp. 107-183, see also 187.

³ C.C. Goen, "Jonathan Edwards: A New Departure in Eschatology" in: *Church History* XXVII (March 1959), 25-40. A predecessor of Edwards was Daniel Whitby (1638-1725): "A Treatise of the Millennium: Shewing That It Is Not a Reign of Persons Raised from the Dead, but of the Church Flourishing Gloriously for a Thousand Years after the Conversion of the Jews, and the Flowing-in of All Nations to Them Thus Converted to the Christian Faith" in: *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (1703).

⁴ For some leaders of the Great Awakening this process had already advanced far. For Lyman Beecher the millennium was at the door step, and Charles G. Finney was convinced that the millennium would surely come within three years if the church did her duty (William G. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, New York 1959, 105).

process would be worldwide missionary work: "And doubtless one nation shall be enlightened and converted after another, one false religion and false way of worship exploded after another."⁵ Equally Christian [Western] civilization would play its part in that process: "The most barbarous nations shall become as bright as England."⁶ This means, that worldwide missions play a role in the process of bringing about the millennium, which role is shared by "Christian culture." This is Western culture, but only its best aspects.

Postmillennialism was born from an optimistic world view, which reckoned on an evolution of world history into the fullness of God's Kingdom. The Christian nations were seen as major elements in this process.⁷ Originally postmillennialism expected a great worldwide revival to crown the gradual process, later more stress was laid on the gradual process, so that postmillennial hope came somewhat close to a Christian evolution.

The Prophetic Movement

Beginning with the second decade of the 19th century, starting from circles critical to established theology and church structures, a dramatic change in eschatological expectations took place.⁸ Leading figures were in Britain by Edward Irving (Presbyterian),⁹ John Nelson Darby, Dr Tregelles and B.W.

⁵ Jonathan Edwards, *Works*, New York 1881, I, 482.

⁶ Harvey G. Townsend [ed.], *The Philosophy of Jonathan Edwards from His Private Notebooks*, Eugene OR 1955, 207, quoted in: C.C. Goen, "Jonathan Edwards: A New Departure in Eschatology" in: *Church History* XXVII [März 1959], 28).

⁷ There is good reason for assuming that postmillennial eschatology tends to run parallel with an optimistic *Zeitgeist*, premillennial eschatology with a pessimistic *Zeitgeist* (Stanley N. Gundry, "Hermeneutics or *Zeitgeist* as the Determining Factor in the History of Eschatologies?" in: *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 1970, 50).

⁸ For a critical assessment see: Murray, *The Puritan Hope* 187-206.

⁹ He made known his views in 1825. In 1827 he published his translation of the South American Jesuit Manuel De Lacunza's "The Coming of Messiah in Glory and Majesty" (1812), prefaced by 200 pages of his own, in which he also describes the

Newton (all Brethren), Michael Baxter (Anglican, married to Elizabeth Baxter), in the United States Joseph A. Seiss, James H. Brooks, Nathanael West and William Blackstone.¹⁰ They expected Christ's return not after but before the millennium. During the millennium Christ would rule as king, whereas they accused postmillennialism of propagating a "kingdom without a king." For Britain the major force in this movement were the Brethren,¹¹ in America it found its most vivid expression in the prophetic conferences (New York 1878, Chicago 1886, Allegheny 1895, Boston 1901, Chicago 1914, Philadelphia und New York 1918).¹² This change to premillennialism was not brought about by the faith missions, but it took place in groups which were quite close to them. Typical for this process is again Moody. Meeting Harry Moorhouse (the "boy evangelist") of the English Brethren¹³ did not only change his preaching style, but also his eschatology. He no longer expected Christ to come to crown human efforts, but expected the millennium to break in as the result of Christ's coming.¹⁴ How important this new vision was for him, is shown by one of his first conversations with Emma Dryer, who later founded the Missionary Training

development of his views (Murray, *The Puritan Hope* 188-190). For his life see: Jean Christie Root, *Edward Irving. Man, Preacher, Prophet*, Boston 1912.

¹⁰ Edvard Torjesen, In the Expectation of Christ's Return. A Study of Premillennialism in the Perspective of Church History and the Writings of Fredrik Franson (Prepared for the Second Consultation of Organizations with a Franson Heritage, Ewersbach 29.8.-2.9.1983), 7-17.

¹¹ See: F. Roy Coad, *Prophetic Developments. With particular reference to the early Brethren Movement*, Pinner/Middlesex, 1966 (Christian Brethren Research Fellowship Occasional Paper No. 2). Another center of premillennialism was Mildmay (WWW 1885,48). - The oldest premillennial publication of this period is probably: W. Cuninghame, *Pre-Millennial Advent of Christ demonstrated from the Scriptures* (1813).

¹² Timothy Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming. American Premillennialism 1875-1982* (enlarged edition), Grand Rapids 1983(1979).

¹³ Converted in a revival meeting in December 1861 (Roy F. Coad, *History of the Brethren Movement* 171). On his meeting with Moody see 187f.

¹⁴ For Moody meeting Moorhouse see: Pollock, *Moody Without Sankey* 69-74. For his eschatology see: Gundry, *Love Them In* 175-193.

Institute of the Chicago Evangelization Society.¹⁵ He asked her if she understood the doctrine of Christ's return and the millennium. She answered in the affirmative. He replied emphatically: "How glad am I that you understand this doctrine! It is the key to the understanding of Scripture. Do you know Mrs Goodwin?" The ensuing conversation on the topic he ended with the words: "Mrs Goodwin understands this doctrine, you understand it and I understand it. Now there are three of us in Chicago."¹⁶

A.T. Pierson underwent, influenced by George Müller, the same change,¹⁷ and A.J. Gordon, too. During his training as a Baptist pastor he had been taught postmillennialism. From two unnamed laymen he heard of premillennial eschatology, which he accepted for himself after a careful study of the Bible. That was for him a crisis experience which he put on equal footing with his holiness experience.¹⁸

The change from post- to premillennialism was more than just a change of date when to expect Christ's return. It signified a drastic change in worldview and in the interpretation of history. Postmillennialism was characterized by an optimistic worldview, which premillennialists conceived as unrealistic. And where they not right? Who could, for example, see the American civil war as a sign of progressing Christian civilization?¹⁹ A.B. Simpson accused postmillennialism as "having no consequences."²⁰ Postmillennialists saw it exactly the other way round. Had postmillennial eschatology not been a driving force behind so many efforts in revival,

¹⁵ Later Moody Bible Institute (MBI).

¹⁶ Emma Dryer - Blanchard nd [1923]. This letter of 33 pages, containing her memories to Moody, is a most important source for her often-neglected role in the founding of the institute.

¹⁷ Delavan L. Pierson, *Arthur T. Pierson. A Biography*, London 1912, 142-144.

¹⁸ Adoniram J. Gordon, *How Christ Came to Church. A Spiritual Autobiography with the life-Story, and the Dream as Interpreting the Man* (By A.T. Pierson, D.D. London 1895), Philadelphia 1895, esp. 24f.

¹⁹ See Coad, *Prophetic Developments*.

²⁰ A.B. Simpson, "Looking For and Hasting Forward" in: *The Christian and Missionary Alliance* 8.6.1898, 533.

reform and mission?²¹ But over the decades, the time factor was lengthened. Stress was no longer laid so much on the idea that efforts in reform and mission would bring about the millennium, but more on the idea, that such a process would take its time, be gradual and slow.²² This change of emphasis meant that postmillennialism ceased to be a driving force for missions.

Varieties of Faith Mission Premillennialism

Grattan Guinness had been introduced to Prophetic thinking when he married Fanny in 1860. After Grattan Guinness' not so successful training course at Dublin they moved to Paris to start evangelistic work there.²³ When the turmoil preceding the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 had become too great, Fanny decided that they move back to Bath,²⁴ and Grattan started to research if current events might not be the fulfillment of biblical prophecies. He became convinced that the return of Christ before the millennium was clearly predicted in Scripture.²⁵ In 1873 Fanny and Grattan Guinness started the East London Training Institute.²⁶ Grattan Guinness's major interest besides missions was prophecy.²⁷ Both subjects for him were

²¹ Timothy Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming. American Premillennialism 1875-1982* (enlarged edition), Grand Rapids 1983 (1979) 13f.

²² Franklin Arthur Pyles, "The Missionary Eschatology of A.B. Simpson" in: Hartzfeld/Nienkirchen, *The Birth of a Vision* 29-47 [37].

²³ When Hudson Taylor, after Maria's death, sent their children to Europe, they stayed for an extended period with Fanny Guinness and her family in Paris.

²⁴ Michele Guinness, *The Guinness Legend* 93.

²⁵ Grattan Guinness, *The Approaching End of the Age*, New York ²1881 (1878). Guinness first read the postmillennial: David Brown, *Christ's Second Coming: Will it be Pre-Millennial?* (probably the enlarged version Edinburgh/London ²1849), but that did not satisfy him. Cf. Iain H. Murray, *The Puritan Hope* 198f.

²⁶ The building was ready in 1872, Joshua Chowriappah, the first student, began early in 1873 (Michele Guinness, *Guinness Legend* 99).

²⁷ The most important books on this subject were: *The Approaching End of the Age* (London 1878); *Light for the Last Days. A Study Historical and Prophetical* (London 1886; ²1917); *Romanism and the Reformation* (London 1887).

so closely interrelated, that they almost melted into one. In 1887 Grattan and Fanny Guinness handed over responsibility for the Institute to their son Harry and his Australian wife Annie Reed, so that Grattan could concentrate on his prophetic studies.²⁸

During his Louisville pastorate, at about the same time as his holiness experience, A.B. Simpson became convinced of the premillennial return of Christ.²⁹ Soon the (premillennial) return of Christ became the fourth aspect of his "fourfold Gospel": Christ the coming king.³⁰ During the millennium Christ will rule in person, there will be no kingdom without a king! The return of Christ is dependent on mission. He himself made the preaching of the Gospel to the whole world the precondition for his return.³¹ If the church does her duty, she can speed up the coming of her Lord.³² This means, that Christ's return is *imminent*, not that it is to be expected *any moment*. For Simpson imminent means a time span, imminently important for all Christians. They are not to expect Christ any moment, but they are any moment to put all effort in fulfilling the preconditions for his return.³³ This made eschatology a propelling force for missions.

²⁸ Kenneth Holmes, *The Cloud Moves*, London ⁵1974, 21f. Fanny Guinness starb 1898, Grattan Guinness 1910.

²⁹ A.B. Simpson, "How I Was Led to Believe in Pre-Millennarianism" in: *CMA Weekly* 13.11.1891. For a detailed study of his eschatology see: Franklin Arthur Pyles, "The Missionary Eschatologie of A.B. Simpson" in: Hartzfeld/Nienkirchen, *The Birth of a Vision* 29-48.

³⁰ John Sawin, "The Fourfold Gospel" in: Hartzfeld/Nienkirchen, *The Birth of a Vision* 29-48 is a scholarly presentation of the "fourfold Gospel."

³¹ "On the great missionary movement hangs the appointed hour of the millennial dawn, of the marriage of the Lamb, of the glory of the resurrection, of the time of the restitution of all things" (Annual report International Missionary Alliance 1892,62).

³² Annual report CMA 1897, 26.

³³ For the meaning of "imminency" see: Franklin Arthur Pyles, "The Missionary Eschatology of A.B. Simpson" in: Hartzfeld/Nienkirchen, *The Birth of a Vision* 35f.

There are no sources available, how Fredrik Franson became a premillennialist.³⁴ But when he evangelized in the Middle West around 1880, his position was already clear.³⁵ Different from Simpson he expected Christ's coming "any moment,"³⁶ and originally he preached this eschatology not in the context of world mission, but of evangelism (in Christian countries). He was interested in foreign missions, too, but foreign missions were no motivating force.³⁷ It was his journey to London in 1882 which changed this. His first journey to Scandinavia had the theme "Christ's return and revival," his second journey had the theme "Christ's return and missions."³⁸ Like Hudson Taylor he was convinced that before Christ's return everyone must get a chance to hear the Gospel.³⁹

Historical and Futurist Premillennial Eschatology

Both Guinness and Simpson interpreted their premillennial eschatology historically. The prophecies of the Bible for the "last days" include certain predicted events. Some of them are already past, some (few) are still to happen.⁴⁰ Two signs Simpson saw as fulfilled: Antichrist and the false prophet. The papacy was the antichrist, Muhammad the false prophet.⁴¹

³⁴ For a booklet delineating Franson's eschatology and showing its context see: Edvard Torjesen, "In the Expectation."

³⁵ Ibid. 19; Cf. Edvard Torjesen, *A Study of Fredrik Franson* 109.

³⁶ Edvard Torjesen, "In the Expectation" 19; Cf. Torjesen, *A Study of Fredrik Franson* 109.

³⁷ Edvard Torjesen, *A Study of Fredrik Franson* 226.

³⁸ Edvard Torjesen, "In the Expectation" 43, based on: Fredrik Franson, "Några afskedsord" in: *Trosvittnet* 1.10.1898 und *Missionæren* 29.9.1898.

³⁹ "Soon your Saviour will come. If you keep this hope in mind, it will help you to use your time to win souls for heaven" (Edvard Torjesen, *A Study of Fredrik Franson* 282 translated from: Franson, "Arv og Lín" in: *Morgenrøden* Summer 1983).

⁴⁰ Jonathan Edwards, with whom postmillennialism originated, was also a historian, but used historicism to support his postmillennialism (C.C. Goen, "Jonathan Edwards: A New Departure in Eschatology" in: *Church History* XXVII[März 1959], 25-40, 26f).

⁴¹ Franklin Arthur Pyles, "The Missionary Eschatology of A.B. Simpson" in: David F. Hartzfeld; Charles Nienkirchen (eds), *The Birth of a Vision*, Regina 1986, 33. (To see

And both had passed their eclipse: The French troops had humbled the papacy, the Muhammedan lands were almost all subject to Western powers. Grattan Guinness saw "Romanism" predicted by Paul and John,⁴² and he could claim that his interpretation was shared by the theologians of the Reformation.⁴³ A sign which he saw in the process of being fulfilled, was the Jews' return to Israel.⁴⁴ The one remaining unfulfilled sign was the preaching of the Gospel among all nations. Now, when in God's providence, the whole world has become accessible, it is the church's duty with a tremendous missionary effort to work for the fulfilment of this last sign and "to bring the king back."

Grattan Guinness, A.B. Simpson and others like A.J. Gordon⁴⁵ were representatives of a clearly historical premillennialism. This kind of eschatology creates the closest interconnection between eschatology and missiology. The opposite to historical premillennialism is futurist premillennialism. Its basic assumption is that all the events predicted in the bible for the "last days" are still to happen, all in a relatively short time before Christ's return. (This version of premillennialism usually soon replaced the historical variety.)

An exponent of futurist premillennialism was Fredrik Franson, who stated explicitly during the Chicago 1881 prophetic conference explicitly that the Pope was not the antichrist.⁴⁶ For Franson, too, the worldwide preaching of the gospel was one of the signs of Christ's coming, but possibly it was

the papacy as the antichrist may be due to his strong Presbyterian conviction. The Westminster Confession [25.6] demands this view.)

⁴² Grattan Guinness, *Romanism and the Reformation*, London 1887, 73-178.

⁴³ Grattan Guinness, *Romanism* 179-260.

⁴⁴ This led to a positive appreciation of Zionism. Cf. Weber, *Living in the Shadow* 131-141. Five years before Herzl published his book "Der Judenstaat," W.E. Blackstone had proclaimed the right of the Jews to have their own state in Israel (Memorial Blackstone to President Benjamin Harrison and Secretary of State James Blaine 5.3.1891).

⁴⁵ Others too, for ex. A.J. Gordon (Pyles, "The Missionary Eschatology of A.B. Simpson" in: Hartzfeld/Nienkirchen, *The Birth of a Vision* 30).

⁴⁶ Edvard Torjesen, "In the Expectation of Christ's Return" 31.

already fulfilled. Perhaps what was still lacking was the full readiness of the church to receive her Lord.⁴⁷ But unlike Darby's, Franson's futurist premillennialism was not exclusive. Franson held the view that many prophecies have a threefold fulfilment: They have been fulfilled, are being fulfilled and will be fulfilled in the future. Therefore, his eschatology can be called "inclusive futurist premillennialism."⁴⁸ Franson was aware of the tensions between the different eschatological interpretations. He was convinced that truth may comprise both extremes, even if we are not able to see how they are connected.⁴⁹ There is a fascinating parallelism between Fredrik Franson's attitude to contradictions in eschatology and the faith missions' general attitude towards the contradictions in ecclesiology.

Applied Eschatology

The men described up to now are representative for all the faith missions. A few examples may suffice: For C.E. Hurlbert and the Pennsylvania Bible Institute, where he taught and which formed a base for the AIM, eschatology was the other major emphasis besides holiness.⁵⁰ Rowland Bingham did not only lecture about missions, but also about "fulfilled prophecy," using slides from Palestine.⁵¹ One of the leading figures in American premillennialism was Scofield, not only the author of the dispensationalist "Scofield Bible," but also the founder of the Central America Mission.⁵² Another leading premillennial bible expositor, who played an important role in the birth of the Gospel Missionary Union, was James Hall Brookes (1830-1897).⁵³

⁴⁷ Fredrik Franson, *Himlauret*, Stockholm ²1898, 263f.

⁴⁸ Edvard Torjesen, "In the Expectation of Christ's Return" 19f.

⁴⁹ Fredrik Franson, "Uppenbarelsesboken" in: *Morgonstjernen* 29.11.83 quoted in Edvard Torjesen, "In the Expectation of Christ's Return" 19.

⁵⁰ This can be seen clearly from the early volumes of *Hearing and Doing*."

⁵¹ Rowland Bingham, *Seven Sevens of Years* 66.

⁵² For history and criticism see: Douglas W. Frank, *Less Than Conquerors. How Evangelicals Entered the Twentieth Century*, Grand Rapids 1986, 73-75.

⁵³ Cf. Edvard Torjesen, "In the Expectation of Christ's Return" 13f; see: James H. Brookes, "How I became a Premillennialist" in: *Hearing and Doing* Juli 1899.

Contrary to some of their contemporaries in the Prophetic Movement, for the faith mission leaders eschatology was not speculative, but applied. Here again Hudson Taylor gave the lead. In Hull he attended the Brethren meetings, its leader was the former Anglican priest Andrew Jukes, who held a very speculative eschatology.⁵⁴ "From a friend" Hudson Taylor received a list of bible references, which convinced him, like Jukes, that Christ would return before the millennium. But with Hudson Taylor the results were not speculative, but very practical: He checked his books and his clothes and gave away all that he did not really need.⁵⁵ This was applied eschatology. Later he applied eschatology in a very practical way to missionary work in China, asking for ever more missionaries. A.B. Simpson formulated it vividly: "There is no mockery more sad and inconsistent than that of believing and speaking of the Blessed Hope [Titus 2:12f] with folded hands and selfish heart. No man can rightly believe in the coming of Jesus without expending all the strength of his being in preparing for it by sending the Gospel to all nations."⁵⁶ Since Jesus has bound his command to evangelize the world to the promise of his return, world mission is the first eschatological command. C.T Studd said: "To evangelize the world and have Christ back."⁵⁷

For Simpson the evangelization of the world was the one still outstanding sign, and he did all he could to change that.⁵⁸ Oswald Smith (People's Church, Toronto) saw this last sign as fulfilled as soon as the Gospel had entered the last nation still unreached.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Roy F. Coad, *Brethren Movement* 78.

⁵⁵ James Hudson Taylor, *Retrospect*, London, ¹⁸1974, 18f.

⁵⁶ A.B. Simpson, "Missionary Messages" 37. See also *WWW* 1882, 34.

⁵⁷ Jean Walker, *Fool and Fanatic?* 18 (From an undated letter, possibly written 1913/14. The originals are not yet accessible. Jean Walker died Juli 1987). In another letter he writes: "It has been suggested that our Lord's return does not demand the previous evangelization of the world. Whether such be the case or not, our honour demands it" (Jean Walker, *Fool and Fanatic?* 119).

⁵⁸ Hartzfeld/Nienkirchen, *The Birth of a Vision* 32.

⁵⁹ His book "The Challenge of Missions," originally written in 1959 as "The Cry of the World," starts with a dramatic scene in Satan's realm, wherein he realizes that, since the Gospel is now even being preached in Afghanistan, the last remaining

In Zaire C.T Studd received a letter inquiring how 9000 \$ could be used best "to hasten the return of the Lord by evangelizing Central Africa."⁶⁰ A.B. Simpson expressed the same idea in 1892, arguing that 'God gave us the key to the future. God does not measure time in years, but by conditions and fulfilments, and the hour of the wedding of the Lamb may be fixed by the bride.'⁶¹

This way of thinking is based on 2 Peter 3,12: "looking for and hasting the coming of the day of God" (AV). The idea that it is possible to speed the coming of Christ is not only based on this verse which is open to varying interpretations since missions are not mentioned in it, far more it is based in historical eschatology in general. From 1891-1900 the CMA experienced an unparalleled "missionary explosion," and Simpson's eschatology of expecting Christ not any moment but when the church has done her duty is one of the explanations why it took place.⁶²

The conviction, that it was possible to evangelize the world before Christ's return or even to speed it, was a major reason why the faith missions gave top priority to the unreached areas of the world.⁶³ It influenced their methods further: Since there was great urgency, great numbers of evangelists had to be employed. To find them, one was not to rely on ordained pastors. Women must be employed as evangelists, not just as missionary wives. Sometimes it led even to the extreme conviction that in the mission field there was no need for mission stations, just to travel and present the saving Gospel to as many persons as possible.⁶⁴ Necessity soon modified this concept.

"Gospel free" nation, there is now nothing to hold up Christ's return and with it the end of his satanic rule. (*The Challenge of Missions* 9-16, esp. 16).

⁶⁰ Jean Walker, *Fool and Fanatic?* 43.

⁶¹ The Christian and Missionary Alliance 29.10.1910; A.B. Simpson, *Missionary Messages* 37.

⁶² Deryl Westwood Cartmel, *Mission Policy and Programme of A.B. Simpson*, MA Hartford 1962, 70-97.

⁶³ Cf. also Daniel Bacon, *From Faith to Faith* 12-26 "Priority of the Unreached."

⁶⁴ *WWW* 1882, 34.

The eschatological concepts of the faith missions had several further repercussions. In Acts 2:17f the prophet Joel is quoted predicting that in the last days the Spirit will be poured out and signs will happen. As the premillennialists, different from Peter, took the last days not as starting with Pentecost but with about their own days, this verse offered a good reason to allow women to preach: Prophesying daughters!⁶⁵ In this they employed a concept that may go back to Edward Irving *of the Restorationist Revival,* founder of the Catholic Apostolic Church, who expected for the end times the renewal of the gifts of the spirit like speaking in tongues, healing and prophecy, which happened indeed in his church in 1831.⁶⁶ But this (except to some extent healing) the faith missions rejected, and the Pentecostal revival took up the idea again later.

A problematic effect of the faith mission's eschatology was that the expectance of Christ's imminent return left little room for an explicit ecclesiology. So faith mission ecclesiology was twice weakened: By their interdenominational character and by their eschatology.

Another side effect of premillennialism was its negative worldview. It was in some way more realistic than postmillennialism's optimism, but was it really realistic? If the world was going down the drain anyhow, efforts to improve it (or even parts of it) may not be so attractive.

A Decline of the Vision

Today's faith mission eschatology is not the same as in its early days. The doctrinal side has not changed very much: Christ's return is still expected,

⁶⁵ But there was also a different reason behind this decision: The church had not done her duty to evangelize effectively. Therefore, to allow women to evangelize is to enhance the effectiveness of the church in fulfilling her commission. - One of the first booklets Franson published was: *Weissagende Töchter*, Emden 1890; also: *Gemeinschaftsblatt* [Emden] No. 16 and 17, 1890. The Swedish (revised) edition is: *Profeterande Döttrar*, St. Paul 1896; Stockholm 1897.

⁶⁶ Vinson Synan, *In the Latter Days. The Outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the Twentieth Century*, Ann Arbor 1984, 33; *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States*, Grand Rapids 1972, 98.

and it is expected before the millennium. But eschatology is no longer the driving force for mission which it was in the beginning.

One change took place quite early in the CMA.⁶⁷ For Simpson Christ's return was imminent, so Christians had to *work* for it. Soon Christ's return was expected at any moment, so Christians had to *wait* for it. This simplifies the issue but giving up historical premillennialism in favour of any moment premillennialism loosened the ties between eschatology and the missionary effort.

This decline of eschatology in the CMA was not an isolated phenomenon. It can be generally observed that the role played by eschatology in the faith missions and in the circles of their supporters has declined, so that one writer even speaks of a "forgotten doctrine."⁶⁸ One reason is that speculative eschatology has to quite some extent discredited itself by ever changing its world scenarios and by always starting the end at about the time of the author's writing.⁶⁹

If speculative eschatology has lost its motivating power for missions, it has definitely not lost its frightening power, and the threat, perceived or real, of worldwide Communist expansion has served as a poor missionary motivation.⁷⁰ It motivated not to missions, but to defense (and nuclear war, if required).⁷¹ How the demise of Communism, not planned by speculative premillennialism, will influence this kind of eschatology, must be awaited. One thing, though, seems to be sure: After the quiet death of Communism,

⁶⁷ Franklin Arthur Pyles, "The Missionary Eschatology of A.B. Simpson" in: Hartzfeld/ Nienkirchen, *The Birth of a Vision* 29-47 [37].

⁶⁸ Editorial in: *Alliance Life* 14.9.1988, 30; Timothy Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming. American Premillennialism 1875-1982* (enlarged edition), Grand Rapids 1983(1979), 242.

⁶⁹ Cf. Timothy Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming*, 177ff.

⁷⁰ There are quite a number of missions who did base their motivation in smaller or larger parts on the reality of Communist expansion: Those missions who worked by more or less secret means in or for the Communist countries. But their motivation was not eschatological.

⁷¹ See Hal Lindsay, *The 1980s: Countdown to Armageddon*, King of Prussia PA 1980.

a new super-enemy of Christianity, the West and all that is good has become available: Islam. This concept again has frightening power and demotivates missions.

Among Evangelicals premillennialism is still the dominant eschatology, more so in America than in Europe. One attempt at a new thinking should be noted, though, as it can be traced (very indirectly) even back to Grattan Guinness. John Jefferson Davis of Gordon Conwell University (going back in one of its roots to A.J. Gordon's Boston Missionary Training Institute, which Grattan Guinness had suggested in 1889) is convinced that postmillennialism is consistent with Christ's greatness and therefore needs to be reconsidered.⁷² It is not yet clear how much support he will find and how, if at all, his concept will influence evangelical missionary motivation.

New Efforts

I have mainly described the effects of premillennial eschatology on missionary work in the first generation of faith missions. In this section some more efforts, more or less directly related to the Prophetic Movement and the premillennial eschatology it brought about, are to be related briefly here.

Reaching the Last Tribe: New Tribes Mission

The New Tribes Mission⁷³ is a comparative latecomer among the big faith missions, but its eschatological motivation is obvious. It can be traced back to Moody. Paul Fleming, founder of NTM, was strongly influenced by the

⁷² John Jefferson Davis, *Christ's Victorious Kingdom. Postmillennialism Reconsidered*, Grand Rapids 1986.

⁷³ The best presentation of its history (but without sources given) is: Kenneth Johnston, *The Story of the New Tribes Mission*, Sanford 1985. The historical material for this book was collected by Terence Sherwood. He was American army historian in Taiwan, and after early retirement he joined the NTM as its historian. Interviews with him and his wife Jane (Sanford 20.3.1986; Ratingen 20.5.1986) helped me very much to understand NTM.

evangelist Paul Rader of Chicago,⁷⁴ through whom he received his missionary vision and for whom he worked some time. Certain events made him leave Rader,⁷⁵ and after his marriage to Cherrill Harter in 1936 the couple expected that the independent Country Church in Hollywood would provide a base for their intended missionary work. When that prospect failed, they sailed in 1937 for Sumatra as independent missionaries, but could not get permission to work there because of Muslim resistance. When stopping in Singapore, they heard about the unreached Arang Asli in Malaysia, and the Flemings felt called to reach them. In Singapore they met the CMA missionary leader Dr. Jaffray (1873-1945),⁷⁶ who shared their vision and accepted them as CMA missionaries, since the Flemings would have got no permit as independent missionaries.⁷⁷ Jaffray directed them to Paul Lin [Kwang Lin],⁷⁸ a Chinese missionary to Malaysia, and together they

⁷⁴ The Billy Graham Center Archives in Wheaton contain a remarkable collection of primary sources relative to Rader. For his early development see: W. Leon Tucker, *The Redemption of Paul Rader*, New York 1918.

⁷⁵ Most probably the unfulfilled wish to marry Rader's daughter.

⁷⁶ Alfred C. Snead, "Robert A. Jaffray at Rest" in: *The Alliance Weekly* 6.10.1945. - Jaffray became a CMA missionary in Kwangsi Province in 1896. In 1929 in Hongkong he helped to start one of the first Chinese Foreign Missions, the Chinese Foreign Missionary Union, with Dr Leland Wang as president and himself as vice president (Nancy K.W. Ma, *Chinese Missionaries in Indonesia*, MA Columbia Bible College 1972, 33 based on Jason S. Linn, *The Light of the Gospel in Pagan Isles*, Djakarta 1954, 59). Compared to other faith missions, the CMA was very early in encouraging "natives" in missionary work. Dr Leland Wang worked from 1945-1959 in Indonesia. In 1932 the Dutch East Indies Mission (CFMU) received 500 \$ monthly from "The Couriers," an organization which Rader had founded to foster the mission activities of independent churches (*The Courier* 8.10.1932).

⁷⁷ Most probably this meant not full acceptance into the CMA, but acceptance into its Malaysia Mission (Daily Prayer Calendar for Malaysia Mission, Ringlet, Cameron Highlands, F.M.S., POB 228, Singapore S.S.).

⁷⁸ In the printed sources of the NTM Paul Lenn. Paul Lin (together with J.S. Linn) had worked at the East Coast of Borneo (Balik-Papan and Samarinda) as a missionary of the Chinese Foreign Missionary Union (Jason S. Linn, *The Light of the Gospel in Pagan Isles*, Djakarta 1954, 58). For his life see: Terence Sherwood, "Paul Lenn (Kwang Lin)" in: *Family News* 1885, 6f.

evangelized among the Sakai. Severe ill health, made worse by wrong malaria medication, forced the Flemings to return to the States.⁷⁹ Paul Lin continued the work among the Sakai.⁸⁰

Hardly recovered, Fleming travelled width and length of the States to promote his vision "to reach the last tribe with the Gospel, so that Christ can return."⁸¹ The result was that a group of men formed, most of them influenced by Rader, to further this aim.⁸² In 1942 they came to the conviction that they would have to start a new mission, if they wanted to reach their aim.⁸³ Fleming wanted the early NTM to start in Eastern Asia,⁸⁴ but the war turned their attention to Latin America.⁸⁵ There they attempted first of all to reach the completely unreached Ayoré, an attempt for which they

⁷⁹ Kenneth Johnston, *The Story of the New Tribes Mission*, Sanford 1985, 19.

⁸⁰ The churches still exist [1984] (Terence Sherwood, Chronology of NTM [data base] for Nov. 1947).

⁸¹ In his methods of presentation Fleming was most innovative: He had 6000 feet of 16 mm coloured motion picture film, which he moulded, by using two turntables, record player and microphone, into a 45 minute multimedia show (Johnston, *New Tribes Mission* 21). See also: Paul W. Fleming, *Spiritual Chain Reaction* nd Translated into Dutch as: *Geestelijke Kettingreactie*, 1951, when an attempt was made to create a Dutch branch.

⁸² Lance Latham (pastor of North Side Gospel Center, Chicago, a Tabernacle similar to Rader's [For his life see: *A Tribute to the Memory of a Choice Servant. Lance B. Latham 1894-1985*, Sanford (NTM) 1985]); Bob Dillon (Superintendent of the Sunshine Gospel Mission, Chicago); Bob Williams, Mervin Rossell, Roy Oestreicher and Paul Fleming himself (Johnston, *New Tribes Mission* 5).

⁸³ Kenneth Johnston, *New Tribes Mission* 27.

⁸⁴ In 1947 there were renewed attempts to recommence cooperation with Paul Lin, but were foiled by the guerilla war there (Terence Sherwood, Chronology of NTM [data base] for 19.9.1947).

⁸⁵ The first activity there, a trip to take pictures for mission promotion, was made with active support of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Terence Sherwood, Chronology of NTM [data base] for March 1942).

received help from the Bolivian Indian Mission. Five missionaries were killed before the NTM succeeded in reaching the Ayoré.⁸⁶

Fleming was convinced that in order to reach the last tribe before the return of Christ, innovative methods had to be used: The mission had to be inter-denominational (that had become common fare for the faith missions by then), including even Pentecostals (that was pretty unusual in those years). Those who were or would have been rejected by other missions for lack of education, lack of spouse, too many children or insufficient education would be acceptable to NTM, as long as they were called by the Lord and could stand the boot camp, where they were prepared for work among the "last tribes." As transporting the missionaries to their fields was a problem, the NTM once even bought a ship (the M.V. Tribesman)⁸⁷ and twice a plane (Tribesman and Tribesman II). Both planes crashed, in the second crash Paul Fleming died, too.⁸⁸

Paul Fleming's applied eschatology found most of its early support in what one might call today "independent bible churches" around Chicago.⁸⁹ But the majority of them can be designated as "Tabernacle Churches," that means as independent churches to reach the unchurched employing innovative means to do so. This was the case with Paul Rader, who was behind much of NTM's early history. From 1915-1922 he was pastor of Moody Memorial Church, which he tried to transform into a Tabernacle Church, so that those years are called the "sawdust years."⁹⁰ In 1919 he succeeded A.B. Simpson as President of the CMA. Soon it turned out that both organiza-

⁸⁶ Jean Dye Johnson, *God Planted Five Seeds*, Sanford ⁴1981(1966).

⁸⁷ The ship soon turned out to be too large and too expensive (Kenneth Johnston, *New Tribes Mission* 147-152).

⁸⁸ United States Department of the Interior. National Park Service, Grand Teton National Park, Narrative Report of Aircraft Accident which occurred at Grand Teton National Park on Nov. 21, 1950; Orrin and Lorraine Bonney, "Plane Crash on Mt. Moran" in: *Teton. The Magazine of Jackson Hole*, Wyoming 1978, 10-15; 52-57.

⁸⁹ Eight of the first nine NTM missionaries came from the Saginaw Bible Tabernacle in Saginaw, Michigan (Terence Sherwood, "In the Beginning" in: *Family News* 1985,12).

⁹⁰ Robert G. Flood, *The Story of Moody Church*, Chicago 1985, 15-20.

tions were not happy with him.⁹¹ He left Moody Memorial Church and began the Chicago Gospel Tabernacle.⁹² He did not differ from Moody in his attempts to reach the unchurched with innovative methods, but he differed from him in his concept of the church. For Moody the independent congregation was a useful means to help converts from the lower classes who did not find a home in the existing churches, but it was in good fellowship with all the other churches around. Rader, to the contrary, conceived the denominations as decadent and irrelevant.⁹³ Rader strongly influenced Lance Latham, one of the early NTM leaders. Fleming had a wider vision, even members of the denominations were welcome to him to help fulfill the remaining task. After his death the vision was narrowed, the NTM confined its home base more or less to the independent bible churches, defined itself as anti-ecumenical and non-charismatic.

In order to fulfill its commission to reach the last tribe as quickly as possible, the early NTM embraced wholeheartedly the then innovative concept of the indigenous church principle. Those the mission was to win for the Gospel should as soon as possible carry it further by themselves.⁹⁴ In the

⁹¹ Niklaus/Sawin/Stoesz, *All for Jesus* 138-155.

⁹² The fact that he did not integrate his new Tabernacle into the CMA added to the existing frictions (Report of the Commission to the Board on Official letter relative to the Resignation of Mr. Rader).

⁹³ "We are out on a great revival—a revival that means a great return—a drastic readjustment of methods to those given by the Holy Spirit to the Apostle Paul [which organized religion has decidedly left]" (Rader in: *The Courier* 18.10.1932). "The war is on! ... It's over the Laymen's Mission Report. The split is here shown. Light and darkness cannot dwell together. The hour has come when each denomination must determine what place Christ is to have in their organization" (*The Courier* 7.1.1933). - On the 29.4.1933 *The Courier* stopped being published for lack of money.

⁹⁴ "Self-propagation of the native churches shall be encouraged. Every means at our disposal shall be employed to bring the churches to a self-sustaining basis. Native workers shall be encouraged and trained to become effective Christian leaders, and the responsibility of the work shall be passed on to them as quickly as possible" (Basic Principles in: Min. New Tribes Mission 17.7.1942). - "We pledge ourselves to pray daily for 5000 New Tribes missionaries on pioneer fields doing

early training camps of the NTM the name Roland Allen became a household word, and his ideas were made the basis of NTM missiology.⁹⁵ It must be questioned if these principles really achieved what they were designed for, namely to speed up the evangelization of the last remaining tribes, because of its rule (quite convenient after the depression): "Foreign money should be used only in doing the work which leads up to the church and not on the work of the church. Foreign money for the foreign missionary—native money for the native workers."⁹⁶

The NTM did not only follow the lead given by Roland Allen, but much more the lead given by Alexander Hay, who had transformed the Inland South America Missionary Union into the New Testament Missionary Union.⁹⁷ He

New Testament missionary work; namely, building an indigenous church" (Covenant between Paul Fleming, Bob Williams, and Cecil Dye, 1.8.1942).

⁹⁵ William S. Dillon, *Reaching the Last Tribe in this Generation. Via the Indigenous New Testament Methods*, nd [1945].

⁹⁶ Ibid. 45. The book was written in 1945 by Dillon as a member of the NTM executive. It represents what he taught in the candidate courses and then became the text book. Fleming's foreword made it even more official. Dillon first worked under Rader, later he was a fellow worker of Dr Thomas Cochrane of World Dominion. For Cochrane see: Floyd Hamilton; *Thomas Cochrane, Basic Principles in Educational and Medical Mission Work*, London [World Dominion] 1925.

⁹⁷ Field News from Inland South America. New Testament Missionary Union (Formerly Inland South America Missionary Union) No 5 November 1932. The British Council of the mission did not feel at ease with the new tendency: "It was felt that any change of name would be detrimental to the interests of the Mission in the British Isles, and the new name proposed seemed to cast a slur upon other missionary bodies and to be an assumption that the New Testament Missionary Union was on New Testament lines whilst other Societies might or might not be so" (Prot. Inland South America Missionary Union 30.4.1932). One group of the mission did not approve this new theology and founded in 1937 the Inland South America Missionary Union, using the older name (Prot. Inland South America Missionary Union Corporation 7.3.1938; Prot. NTMU Council Minutes 30.4.1943). Their leader was John Nairn Hay, doctor among lepers and brother of Alexander Hay, who had initiated the changes (Inland South America Missionary Union Continuing, November 1937; Prot. NTMU Council Minutes 7.3.1938). Besides these theological reasons another point of discontent was the cessation of medical work which

had incorporated the principle of the independent local congregation into Roland Allen's concepts, and that made him for the NTM leaders with their independent church background very attractive.⁹⁸ Alexander Hay insisted that the congregations were to be fully independent even in their very first stages. Whereas Hay's NTMU developed into a worldwide denomination, being the only interdenominational mission ever to do so,⁹⁹ the NTM stuck to its principle of absolute independence of the congregations it founds.¹⁰⁰ All this to effect the speediest possible evangelization before Christ's return, but I must leave it open how far in this case practice matches principle.¹⁰¹

Alexander Hay had brought about (W. Rownsfeld Brown, Open Letter October 1937).

⁹⁸ In his booklist in "Reaching the Last Tribe in this Generation. Via the Indigenous New Testament Methods," Dillon listed first Roland Allen, then Alexander R. Hay, *Practicing New Testament Methods in South America*, London 1932. Hay claimed that after introducing the "New Testament Methods" in NTMU, work in Brazil (area of Iquitos) advanced twice as fast as before.

⁹⁹ Although as a mission NTMU is interdenominational, the churches are organized internationally, and there are also NTMU congregations in the USA (The New Testament Church of Wyoming, Michigan, *Bible Doctrines of the New Testament Church of Wyoming, Michigan* 1978 [revised 1980]; Int. Albert S. Robinson, 10.10.1985). The majority of NTMU churches are in South America, but there are also churches in Umuahia/Nigeria, which had started as an African Independent Church under Elder Amajo, who had been converted through a Canadian independent missionary and was then partly supported by the Brethren couple Lodge (Adrian Kooijmans, "A Visit to Nigeria" in: *NTMU Field News* 61,1 [1982]). The churches absorbed only slowly the NTMU "New Testament Principles" ((Alexander Hay - Watson 10.11.1964; 16.11.1964; 18.11.1964 ["a long way to go yet"]; *NTMU Field News* Juli/Sept 1970; New Testament Church, Amazuta, Old Umuahia, Decisions adopted by the Church in a Prayer Meeting of 18/7/84, after an address by Elder Amajo, declaring his intentions to implement the whole New Testament principle and order in the Local Church here; Int. Albert S. Robinson 11.10.1985).

¹⁰⁰ An early formulation of this policy is: "Local churches are ... absolutely independent of each other so far as church government is concerned - no 'church federations' (Dillon, *Reaching the Last Tribe* 12).

¹⁰¹ To judge on the basis of my limited observations and discussions I tend to see this principle as counterproductive.

Today the New Tribes Mission is one of the large American faith missions. In addition, there are Non-American branches and missionaries, also Non-Western sister missions, all devoted to the same aim: To reach those who are not reached yet, wherever they live and how small a 'tribe' may be.¹⁰²

God does speak every language - even the remotest

A mission, which also originated between the two wars and was equally innovative in its concepts were the Wycliffe Bible Translators founded by William Cameron Townsend (1896-1982).¹⁰³ In 1917 he left Los Angeles to work as an independent missionary in Guatemala in bible colportage work. After travelling a couple of months in the Cakchiquel Highlands, his companion asked him, why God only spoke Spanish and not Cakchiquel.¹⁰⁴ He decided to work among the Cakchiquel as a missionary and joined the Central America Mission, which Scofield had founded in 1890. In 1931 he had the NT translated into Cakchiquel.¹⁰⁵ In the process of translation he not only mastered the language, but also acquired quite some mastery of linguistics. He also had done some theological thinking and come to the conclusion that everyone (irrespective of how many or how few spoke the same language) had the right to read God's word in his or her mother tongue, "the only language that talks to the heart."¹⁰⁶ In 1933 he went to Mexico, in 1934 he

¹⁰² *In Africa the presence of the New Tribes Mission is limited, the centre is Senegal. - *wiki, *usa.ntm.org/Senegal. NTM now also works in Guinea.

¹⁰³ James and Marti Hafley, *Uncle Cam*, London et al. 1974.

¹⁰⁴ *Wycliff Bibelübersetzer* May/June 1982.

¹⁰⁵ Wycliffe today (1980s) is the center of much public controversy. One of the most inaccurate books (Arbeitskreis ILV, Reihe pogrom 62/63, Göttingen/Wien 1979) does him too much honour by crediting him with a translation of the whole Bible by that date (p. 15). Anti-Wycliffe sentiment is uncritically echoed by: Paul Gifford, *The Religious Right in Southern Africa*, Harare 1988, 29.

¹⁰⁶ *This truth is more limited than it sounds. When I lived in south western Tanzania among the Yawo, they obviously considered Kiswahili as the language of their heart, as it was very difficult to interest them in the Yawo translation of the New Testament, and here in Malawi I observed that many of the more educated Malawians prefer to pray in English, both publicly and in their private devotions. In the mainline CCAP churches in Mzuzu City the English services are better attended

organized (for two participants) his first "Camp Wycliffe" in Sulphur Springs, Arkansas. In 1935 the first Camp Wycliffe students started translation work in Mexico. In 1935 he started the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) to institutionalize the linguistic courses. In 1942 he founded the Wycliffe Bible Translators to represent the work of the SIL in America and to provide the necessary support.

Wycliffe Bible Translators is now one of the biggest faith missions worldwide. Its innovative concept was to start churches¹⁰⁷ by the translation of the New Testament¹⁰⁸ and in this way reach the marginal people of the world to fulfill the Lord's commission.

A Renewed Eschatological Vision

A mission, which must stand for a number of others, too, which is recent and has a strong emphasis on applied eschatology, is the Christian Outreach Fellowship. It originated when a number of young Ghanaians attending an "Easter House Party" in 1974 and realized, that many Ghanaians had never heard the Gospel and if missionary work would progress at its the current rate, most of them would have little chance of hearing the Gospel even by the year 2000. So they started the Christian Outreach Fellowship. Its aim is to identify the unreached villages and areas in Ghana and to start either missionary work there or to get others to do so. Their applied eschatological vision they embedded in a poem, a custom well known from the early faith missions in Europe and America:

than the Chitumbuka services (Zeenah Sibande, *The Religious Geography of Mzuzu City in Northern Malawi*, MA, Mzuzu University, 2016). Many Tumbuka speakers have opted for English as the language of prayer.

¹⁰⁷ The WBT are sometimes called a Mission which does not found churches. The opposite is true: "We would be disappointed if the end result is not a church" (Int. Dr. Gowan, Huntington Beach 6.3.1986).

¹⁰⁸ For new developments in the philosophy of translation see: Wayne Dye, *Bible Translation Strategy, An Analysis of its Spiritual Impact*, Dallas ²1985(1980). - *For the Malawian context see: Ernst Wendland, *Buku Loyera. An Introduction to the New Chichewa Bible Translation*, Blantyre: CLAIM-Kachere, 1998.

Three things the Master asks of US
And we who serve Him here below,
And long to see His Kingdom come
May PRAY and GIVE or GO.
He needs them all - the open hand
The willing feet, the praying heart.¹

Another new Nigerian interdenominational mission, which expressly identifies itself with the eschatological motive of Matthew 24:14, is the Christian Missionary Foundation. Its aim is to reach the unreached and bring the King back.

¹ COF Information sheet, valid 1987, 4 (Author of the poem unknown, capitals added).

Chapter 10: Using [No Longer?] Neglected Forces: Women

All men (and women) are equal before God. This theological truth was not necessarily applied in the church or in its mission. In the classical missions women usually had no position of their own. Gustav Warneck, the leading missiologist of the German classical missions, made it clear: Women are valuable in missionary work, but their position must clearly be inferior.¹ They are not to preach, doing so would be "unhealthy and contrary to the Scriptures."² The role of a woman is either to be a missionary's wife or to be a "third class" missionary assistant.³ Second class missionary assistants are craftsmen and doctors.⁴ Real missionaries are ordained men. If a woman was married, Warneck did not count her in mission statistics, if she was unmarried, he did. Warneck was convinced that women (at least in Germany) needed no missionary training. They could receive their training in teacher training colleges, deaconesses' houses and secondary schools.⁵

This attitude, quite widespread in the classical missions, did not go unchallenged, though, at least in the English speaking countries. Mrs. Doremus, who started in 1861 the Woman's Union Missionary Society [WUMS], was one of those who protested against this attitude.⁶ But it was the faith

¹ Gustav Warneck, *Missionslehre* 217-131.

² Ibid. 248, basing his argument on 1 Cor. 14,34 and 1 Tim. 2,12.

³ Ibid. 247. Women's area of work is medical and social care and education (249).

⁴ A women doctor would be a member of the second class of missionary assistants.

⁵ Gustav Warneck, *Missionslehre* 251.

⁶ R. Pierce Beaver, *American Protestant Women in World Mission. A History of the First Feminist Movement in North America*, Grand Rapids ²1980 [1968: *All Loves Excelling*], 91f. WUMS started as a specialized classical mission, but later accepted faith mission principles (Rupert, *The Emergence* 123). This being so, WUMS is not, as Frizen sees it, the oldest American faith mission, though it is indeed the oldest of the seven IFMA founder members. For the history of WUMS see: Edwin L. Frizen, *An Historical Study of the IFMA in Relation to Evangelical Unity and Cooperation*, DMiss, Trinity, Deerfield 1981, 67-71. In 1971 WUMS became United Fellowship for

mission movement which developed a completely new theological and practical approach. Here again Hudson and Maria Taylor set the standard. Right from the beginning married women were counted as full missionaries, and single women were missionaries in their own right,⁷ not only being allowed to preach but expected to do so.

When in 1877 there was a severe famine in Shansi, Hudson Taylor sent from London his (second) wife Jennie and two single women into this area, unreached by missionaries. They started an orphanage and made it possible for the CIM to establish a permanent mission station there.⁸ Even more important for the development of the CIM was that Jennie Taylor and her two assistants had proved that even in the unreached interior of China women can work as pioneer evangelists. So it became a regular thing for women to do pioneer missionary work and to open new mission stations.⁹ This made the CIM most attractive for young independent women.¹⁰ Later Taylor decided that in the Kwangsin Valley (300 km, 15 million inhabitants)

Christian Service in order to send out men, too. In 1975 it joined the Bible and Medical Missionary Fellowship (1978 BMMF Int.), which had been founded as a classical specialized mission in Glasgow in 1852 and later had accepted faith mission principles, too. The presence of extraordinary women was not limited to the faith missions, as the case of Mary Slessor (1848-1915) of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland Mission in Calabar shows (W.P. Livingstone, *Mary Slessor of Calabar*, London 1916). *wiki (which includes pictures with some of her children) *DACB: Slessor, Mary (2 entries)

⁷ Cf. A.J. Broomhall, *Refiner's Fire* 392f.

⁸ Phyllis Thompson, *Each to Her Post. The Inspiring Lives of Six Great Women in China*, London/Sevenoaks 1982, 57-61.

⁹ Gustav Warneck, *Abriß einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart*, Berlin ⁹1910, 114 divides the CIM missionaries as follows: 358 men, 290 single, 231 married and 21 widowed women. He can hardly comprehend that only 18 of the men are ordained, but for the CIM neither being male nor being ordained was considered to be a special qualification for missionaries.

¹⁰ Even today in the USA the percentage of unmarried women is highest in OMF.

only women were to be [Western] missionaries.¹¹ They did their work extremely well. Congregations and schools were established, 3500 people were baptized, and the church there produced her own leaders.¹² Fredrik Franson reported about women missionaries, who did a similar work, though in a different area:

"They do the work on the mission stations as well as any other missionary, especially so when they have a married Chinese co-worker who preaches in the street-chapel. ... The China Inland Mission, just like us, has many stations staffed only by women. An advantage of this arrangement is that the local preachers develop faster than under male leadership. "¹³

All faith missions followed Hudson Taylor in so far as they always counted women, single or married, as missionaries in their own right.¹⁴ This meant that in principle women were to receive the same training as men.¹⁵ Married or engaged couples could not be accepted as a couple, each of them had to pass the process of being accepted into the mission individually. "Candidates who are engaged will state this fact, and will not be accepted until both parties have been considered and found suitable ... Married candidates may be accepted only after careful consideration of the suitability of both husband and wife ... The Mission accepts men and women as full members in every sense, regardless of sex."¹⁶ If a single member of a faith mission would marry someone who is not a member of

¹¹ Broomhall, *Assault on the Nine* 232-251 ("Women Inland"); 387; Appendix I; Howard Taylor, *By Faith. Henry W. Frost and the China Inland Mission*, Singapore ²1988(1938), 163-165.

¹² Bacon, *From Faith to Faith* 66.

¹³ Fredrik Franson, "Letter from Pingliang" in: *Missioæren* 27.10.1904, quoted in EM 1/1986,6. *This is my retranslation from German into English.

¹⁴ In its early years SUM-GB was an exception. They fell in line only in 1911: "Resolved that the wife of a missionary be recognized a missionary" (Min. SUM 5.9.1911).

¹⁵ Until Fanny Guinness established Doric Lodge ELTI had trained men only. From then onwards nearly all Bible schools were coeducational, even though women and men were sometimes hardly allowed to speak to each other.

¹⁶ *SIM Manual* 1984, 26. These rules are typical for the faith missions in general.

the mission, the intended partner must undergo the full process of acceptance into the mission, or she or he has to leave the mission.¹⁷

That the faith missions offered women the same possibilities as men, had the result that in many faith missions there were two women to each man.¹⁸ Although all faith missions followed Hudson Taylor in that they took women to be missionaries in their own right, not all of them followed Taylor in giving women independent responsibilities, not immediately controlled by men.¹⁹

What about the position of faith mission women in Africa? In the Livingstone Inland Mission they participated right from the beginning, but played no major role.²⁰ With the North Africa Mission the situation was different. It had a majority of women members, and many stations were manned by women only.²¹ The same applied to the Gospel Missionary Union (1900)²²

¹⁷ Here too the current SIM regulation is typical: "Since both husband and wife are members of the Mission, marriage to someone who is not a member of the Mission requires resignation from the Mission" (*SIM Manual* 1984, 27).

¹⁸ This ancient statistics is still a regular part of today's faith mission lore, though the statistics contradict. But why check them?

¹⁹ The rationalization was that women could well work on their own in China, but not in Africa (Congo Missionary Conference 1902).

²⁰ Fanny Guinness, *The New World of Central Africa* (for the history of LIM see 173ff). Miss Bosson, Henry Craven's fiancée, was in 1878 the first white women ever on the Lower Congo (197). The role of women became much more important with the founding of the Congo Balolo Mission in 1889.

²¹ Warneck criticizes this severely: "There are many missionaries indeed, though it is not clear if all 84 are in active service. Of them 64 (!) are ladies, who not only do house to house visiting, nurse the sick or teach school, but who also preach publicly (!) and on some stations are all alone" (Gustav Warneck, *Abriß einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart*, Berlin ⁹1910, 333, translation K.F., the exclamation marks are Warneck's).

²² George C. Reed, *Memories of Morocco 1897-1914*, unpublished nd (55).

and the Algiers Mission Band,²³ whose leader even was a women.²⁴ The most extensive evangelistic effort of Moroccan evangelists, started in 1888, was directed by the NAM's Emma Herdman until her death in 1899.²⁵ She trained Moroccan evangelists and coordinated their work carefully from her station in Fez.²⁶ The first seven missionaries of the Egypt General Mission (1897)²⁷ were all (single) men, but their counsellor and mentor was the independent missionary Annie van Sommer, whose father had started in 1853 his own missionary magazine, *The Missionary Reporter*,²⁸ and in 1905

²³ Francis R. Steele, *Not in Vain. The Story of North Africa Mission*, Pasadena 1981, 125.

²⁴ Her biography is: Blanche A.F. Pigott, *I. Liliat Trotter. Founder of the Algiers Mission Band*, London/Edinburgh nd. *For a film on her life see: *Many Beautiful Things. The Life and Vision of Liliat Trotter* (2015), directed by Laura Waters Hinson.

²⁵ After her sudden death the effort was continued until about 1909 (Francis Steele, *Not in Vain* 29). Contrary to E.F. Baldwin's (first NAM, then independent) her work was solid and convincing (26).

²⁶ By doing so she took up Gützlaff's concept. But her sphere of work was much smaller and her control tighter.

²⁷ Douglas D. Porter, *At Thy Disposal. The Beginnings of the Egypt General Mission*, London 1934; George Swan, *Lacked Ye Anything? A Brief Story of the Egypt General Mission*, London ³1923(1921).

²⁸ Annie van Sommer had strong Brethren sympathies. Her father James van Summer had founded the "Missionary Reporter," to become the "The Missionary Echo" in 1872 (today: *Echoes of Service*), which over the years became the missionary magazine of the Open Brethren (only).

was to found the Nile Mission Press.²⁹ Similarly in the Sudan-Pionier-Mission women played a major role.³⁰

During its early years, in the SIM women were in the majority. In 1913, following the lead of the CIM, the establishment of a "ladies' station" for the Yagba speaking area was decided upon.³¹ Similarly in the AEF women were in the majority. Many of them were single, and most of them worked as evangelists, even of the 12 "deaconesses" in 1893 only eight did medical work.³² In 1891 Miss Sheasby started missionary work among the (predominantly Muslim) Cape Coloureds.³³

When the Scandinavian Alliance Mission [TEAM] finally was able to start its first mission station, there were only four women for the job. Franson, who happened to be nearby,³⁴ borrowed for half a year William Dawson, member of the Frie Østafrikanske Mission, to "build a house and to plant a

²⁹ Between 1905 und 1955 the Nile Mission Press produced nearly 1000 publications in 20 languages. In 1956 it fell victim to the Suez War. In 1957 it was reopened in Beirut under the name Arabic Literature Mission (EMCM 40). In 1976 Arabic Literature Mission, Lebanon Evangelical Mission (1860) and Middle East General Mission (founded in 1898 as Egypt Mission Band, later Egypt General Mission, after 1956 only EGM-GB) formed the Middle East Christian Outreach [MECO] (*UK Christian Handbook* 359).

³⁰ Cf. Margarete Unruh, *Hedwig von Hahn*, Wiesbaden 1939. In 1926 Fräulein von Massenbach was Head of station (Min. SPM 21.1.1926). 1983/84 Dr. Elfriede Schmitt was field leader for Egypt, Irma Nübling acting field leader 1987/88. *Gerald Lauche, The Development of the "Sudan Pionier Mission" into a Mission among the Nile-Nubians (1900-1966), PhD, UNISA, 2016.

³¹ Min. SIM 6.5.1913.

³² George E. Weeks, *W. Spencer Walton*, London/Edinburgh/New York, nd 73.

³³ *South African Pioneer* 1891, 228.

³⁴ Franson has been called a "world evangelist." Nearly all the missionaries he sent out he also visited, in China as well as in India and South Africa. On the way he evangelized everywhere, and, if opportunity arose, baptized. For details of his travels see: Edvard Torjesen, *A Study of Fredrik Franson* 589-629 (East Asia), 704-764 (Australia and Asia), 765-776 (South Africa), 777-784 (South America).

field of maize "for the four women."³⁵ When Dawson and Miss Home, one of the four, decided to marry, Franson suggested that Dawson change mission and join ScAM as field leader for Swaziland.³⁶

Dawson accepted, but the most important missionary of ScAM in South Africa became Malla Moe,³⁷ head of Bethel Station.³⁸ Her most important co-worker was Johane (Mapelepele) Ngamede, her first convert. He became the leader of the emerging church and its first ordained pastor. Being a woman, Malla Moe was less of a threat to the chiefs than a male missionary, and Johane Ngamede, young, but polite, made up for Malla Moe's cultural clumsiness.³⁹ Malla Moe died in 1953 after 58 years missionary service.⁴⁰

The number of women was generally high in the faith missions working in Southern Africa. In 1894 Petra Nielsen became the leader of the Frie Østafrikanske Mission's work in Ekutandaneni,⁴¹ and in 1895 Martha Sanne started the mission station Umhlali.⁴² Malla Moe understood herself as being an evangelist, to preach had become her second nature.⁴³ But when someone asked for baptism, she got a man to administer that, first one of the male missionaries, soon Johane Ngamede. This separation between preaching

³⁵ William E. Dawson, *History of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission Work in Africa 1892-1920*, nd [1933] (unpublished) 15, cf. 18.

³⁶ Ibid 20.

³⁷ Maria Nilsen; Paul H. Sheetz, *Malla Moe*, Chicago ⁸1980(1956).

³⁸ J.F. Swanson, *Three Score Years ... and Then. Sixty Years of Worldwide Missionary Advance*, Wheaton nd [1950], 198.

³⁹ Maria Nilsen; Paul H. Sheetz, *Malla Moe*, Chicago ⁸1980, 75ff ("Trip to Chief Maja").

⁴⁰ Ibid. 245.

⁴¹ Odd Ommundsen, "Den frie østafrikanske mission" in: *Det Norske Misjonsforbunds Ytremisjon. Utgitt til Det Norske Misjonsforbunds 100-års-jubileum*, n.p. n.d. [1984], 32f.

⁴² Kari Lorentzen, "Det Norske Misjonsforbunds arbeid i Sør-Afrika" in: *Det Norske Misjonsforbunds Ytremisjon*, 37.

⁴³ Maria Nilsen; Paul H. Sheetz, *Malla Moe*, Chicago ⁸1980, 145.

and administering the sacraments was usual.⁴⁴ No reason was given. With holy communion that rule was less strictly kept.⁴⁵ Occasionally women missionaries are said to have conducted weddings.⁴⁶ But as a rule, women kept away from the "regular office of the church" (according to Simpson this comprised deacons, elders and ordained pastors⁴⁷) on the mission field as they did at home. Though at home there were exceptions, too, for example in the case of the "Église du Tabernacle" in Paris. When its pastor Blocher died in 1929, the congregation asked his wife to become his successor and at the same time head of the Mission Biblique.⁴⁸ The reluctance to allow women into the "regular office of the church" did not apply to the missions

⁴⁴ During the African Consultation 1985 in Vavoua, with 50 representatives of WEC related churches, the question if women, often having leadership positions in WEC, are allowed to baptize, was answered in the affirmative (Christel Meyer - Fiedler 30.3.1989).

⁴⁵ When Benvinda Vaz in Guinea Bissau wanted to celebrate somewhere the Lord's table where they were not yet used to doing so, she "took one of the men and taught him while they were celebrating the Lord's supper" (Int. Benvinda Vaz 5.8.1986).

⁴⁶ Reported for example about Marjorie Cheverton (WEC-GB, 1933-1985) and Agnes Chansler (WEC-US, *1926) in Zaire.

⁴⁷ Leslie A. Andrews, "Restricted Freedom: A.B. Simpson's View of Women" in: Hartzfeld/Nienkirchen, *The Birth of a Vision* 223, based on: *CMA Weekly* 27.3.1891, 195.

⁴⁸ "Habitué par leur bien-aimé pasteur ... n'écouter que les directions du Saint-Esprit, sans s'occuper des critiques ou de l'incomprehension, les membres du Conseil furent persuadés que celle qui avait été la collaboratrice de tous les instants de leur cher disparu, devait le remplacer, non seulement comme directrice de la Mission, mais encore comme Pasteur de l'Église. L'Église ... la quasi-unanimité, ratifia le choix du Conseil" (Madame A. Blocher, *Par la Foi*, Editions des Bons Semeurs, Paris nd [c. 1936] 90f). Here the argument was like Wesley's: "If God uses a woman, why should I hinder Him." The Holy Spirit had already made her a pastor, human choice was just to ratify this.

more directly connected to holiness denominations or organizations. World Gospel Mission (Kenya) had always ordained women missionaries.⁴⁹

Holiness Gave them a Province

Hudson Taylor had been the first to give women a province of their own in missionary work in China. Later historians explained that away by arguing that simply there were no men available. But nowhere had he employed women as second-rate missionaries, why should he have done so here?⁵⁰ That he was able to give them a province, was first of all due to the theology which he had received from the Holiness Movement. Possibly the Holiness Movement was started by a woman, Phoebe Palmer, and women were always among its leading exponents: Hannah Whitall Smith, Ruth Paxson, Charlotte Kerr, Jessie Penn-Lewis, Gertrud Wasserzug, to name but a few.⁵¹

Their prominent role can be explained by the Wesleyan background of the Holiness Movement. In the early days of his evangelistic ministry Wesley, being the ordained Anglican priest he after all was, still rebuked women who did not keep quiet in the meetings of the Methodist Societies. Quite some of the women, burning with revival fire as they were, did not obey and nevertheless evangelized. Wesley gave them increasingly free reign, and later in his life, when asked, why he allowed women even to preach, he replied: "If God owns them in the conversion of sinners, who am I to hinder Him?"⁵²

⁴⁹ But the number of ordained women missionaries has been declining over the years. In the Africa Gospel Church women were never ordained.

⁵⁰ The Kwangsin Valley was not the only area entrusted to women only. The Friedenshort Mission (Eva von Thiele-Winkler) worked in Kweichow Province, and the Deutsche Frauenmissionsgebetsbund was entrusted with the Shungking area in the Szechwan Province (Andreas Franz, *Mission ohne Grenzen. Hudson Taylor und die deutschsprachigen Glaubensmissionen*, Gießen/Basel: Brunnen, 1993, 207-209; 214-218).

⁵¹ See chapter 7: Power for Service.

⁵² There is no written evidence for this statement. But in case it has been invented, it has been invented correctly.

Wesley had not just become lenient, his decision was theological: (1) He gave priority to the unreached. If women were to convert them, that was infinitely better than men not converting them. (2) He decided that theology must not just be deduced logically from certain scriptural verses, but also from observing what the Holy Spirit actually did. (He could well claim St. Peter in his favour, who after the conversion of Cornelius argued: "What was I, that I could withstand God" [AV]).⁵³

Women's Right to Preach Proven from the Scriptures

In the years when the faith missions came into existence, in almost all churches women were not just not allowed to preach, but they had to keep completely quiet. When Fredrik Franson asked men and women to pray during evangelistic meetings in Wuppertal, he was sharply rebuked by Heinrich Neviandt, the Free Evangelical pastor there.⁵⁴ The first publication of Heinrich Coerper, leader of the German branch of the CIM (later Liebenzeller Mission), was a booklet arguing from Scripture that women may pray aloud even with men being present, showing that this was the NT pattern.⁵⁵

Fredrik Franson took the argument further: In 1890 he published in Emden/Germany a booklet entitled: "Weissagende Töchter" (Prophesying Daughters). Like for Wesley, though in a different fashion, the Holy Spirit was decisive for him in allowing women to preach: Did not Peter claim Joel's prediction, that "your daughters shall prophesy" (AV) for the "last days" (Acts 2,17)? And Fredrik Franson, as much as his readers, was convinced that he lived in the last days, and in good Reformed tradition he identified prophesying with preaching. His subsidiary argument is based on the faith missions' priority of the unreached: Since the church does not effectively

⁵³ "So if God gave them the same gift as he gave us, who believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I to think that I could oppose God? (Acts 11:17, NIV).

⁵⁴ Heinrich Neviandt, *Die Heilsarmee und die Arbeit des schwedischen Evangelisten Franson*, Barmen 1890.

⁵⁵ Heinrich Coerper, *Über das Beten der Frauen und Jungfrauen in öffentlichen Versammlungen*, Neumünster nd [ca. 1894].

do her duty, it would be irresponsible to forbid women to execute the church's duty.⁵⁶

Franson was not the only Evangelical author who published a book arguing for the women's right to preach. One of the very early books was written by Catherine Booth (Salvation Army's co-founder),⁵⁷ to defend Phoebe Palmer's right to preach.⁵⁸ All arguments show a similar method of interpreting the New Testament: They take the *life* of the early church as the pattern. If women prayed aloud in mixed company in the early church, that was the yardstick. If women taught men (like Priscilla), who should forbid them doing the same today? And if a bible verse or two seemed to demand from women to keep quiet or not to teach at all, these must be interpreted in the context of how the NT pictures the early church, and in that early church women did not keep quiet.⁵⁹

A Historical Compromise

The early faith missions, especially CIM, were rooted in two movements: Holiness Movement and Brethren Movement, the one coming from an

⁵⁶ Fredrik Franson, *Weissagende Töchter*, Emden 1890; also published in: *Gemeinschaftsblatt* [Emden] No. 16 and 17, 1890. The Swedish (revised) edition is: *Profeterande Döttrar*, St. Paul, Minn. 1896; Stockholm 1897.

⁵⁷ Catherine Booth, *Female Ministry; or, Woman's Right to Preach the Gospel*, London 1859. See also: Minnie Lindsay Carpenter, *Women of the Flag*, London 1945, and Flora Larsson, *My Best Men are Women*, London 1974.

⁵⁸ Together with her husband Walter she was touring Britain. Of the two she was the main attraction to the listeners. Mrs Booth, at that time, did not intend to preach herself, but she felt that women were entitled to do so. (She gave her first public address in 1860 and afterwards became as renowned a preacher as her husband.) - *Phoebe Palmer's major feminist theology book is: Phoebe Palmer, *The Promise of the Father*, 1859 (reprinted Wipf and Stock, 2015).

⁵⁹ *I applied this principle first in: Janet Kholowa and Klaus Fiedler, *Mtume Paulo ndi Udindo wa Amayi Mumpingo*, Blantyre: CLAIM-Kachere, 2001, based on Klaus Fiedler, "Gender Equality in the New Testament: The Case of St. Paul" in: *Malawi Journal of Biblical Studies*, no. 1, 2003, 19-36. It was then applied in Rachel Nya-Gondwe Fiedler, Johannes W. Hofmeyr and Klaus Fiedler, *African Feminist Hermeneutics. An Evangelical Reflection*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2016, 102-103.

Arminian background, the other from a Calvinistic background, the one giving women almost all scope for public ministry, the other all scope for keeping quiet.⁶⁰ How could the Brethren so wholeheartedly support the CIM, which had such prominent women missionaries who did all but keep quiet? Brethren theology provided the possibility. Being ardent bible students, the Brethren were well aware that, especially in the Old Testament, there were women whom God had called into positions of leadership. That was explained away by arguing that God always calls men, but if they fail, he has the freedom even to call a woman, just look at Deborah!⁶¹ On the mission field, men have failed, simply by not being available.⁶² So God may send women, at least as pioneers. (If they are successful, men will be available to take over.) So Arminians and Calvinists, Holiness People and Brethren, agreed on what should be done, in practical terms. But they agreed to and did the same thing with exactly opposing theological concepts behind what they did. That was a historical compromise indeed, but also a compromise which would of necessity become history as soon as men would become available and no longer "fail."

An Exception: Karl Kumm, the British SUM and the Uselessness of Women Missionaries

When (almost) all the early faith missions were glad when women applied to join them, the British branch of the SUM felt them to be a nuisance. Karl Kumm was confronted with the problem that far more women applied to his nascent SUM than men. He was convinced that women were not qualified for pioneer work.⁶³ Wives he felt to be a nuisance, though hard to avoid. But why should men, just as government officers did, not go to the

⁶⁰ There is some evidence that women in the earliest phase of the Brethren Movement did not keep as quiet as later became the rule. Cf. Coad, *Brethren Movement* 66. This needs more investigation.

⁶¹ Little thought was given to answer why Miriam was a prophetess besides Moses, and Huldah besides Jeremiah.

⁶² In faith mission lore Isaiah's answer to God's question: "Whom shall I send?" was therefore transformed into: "Here I am, send my sister!"

⁶³ Kumm - Pedersen 21.3.1911.

Sudan without wife, at least for one term?⁶⁴ Single women would be nothing but a burden for the whole mission.⁶⁵ When single women applied, they were rejected.⁶⁶ In 1909 they were at least entered into a waiting list.⁶⁷ Only when a home for rescued slave children was established in Rumasha, single women were accepted, but exclusively for this job.⁶⁸ Dr. Krusius, an old German friend of Kumm from Sudan-Pionier-Mission's days, made the British branch's position quite clear in a letter to the Danish branch: "It should be quite clear to you that ladies cannot be counted as full members of the staff of a mission station in West Africa."⁶⁹

This restricted attitude was not at all shared by the young Danish branch, but they complied so far at least that besides Dr Brønnum only his wife and the nurse Dagmar Rose were sent out.⁷⁰ When Mrs Brønnum died already in 1913, the British branch expressed the hope that the Danish branch may soon "be able to welcome some more *men*, that pioneer work in Yola may

⁶⁴ When in 1905, at a time when the SUM was in dire need of personell, six (Holiness-) Quakers contacted the SUM in Liverpool, the SUM convinced them that they should work for an initial period with the SUM in Benue. They accepted the condition that Mrs Ford and Mrs Kurtzhals and her baby remained in London (Min. 17.1.1905 "Grattan Guinness had written from US to commend them"; *Lightbearer* März 1905). Levi Lupton, William Smith, Jefferson Ford and Charles Kurtzhals left London for Nigeria the 21.1.1905.

⁶⁵ Kumm - Juul nd [ca. 1913].

⁶⁶ Min. SUM 17.3.1904 (Miss Ross); *Lightbearer* März 1905; Min. SUM 22.5.1905.

⁶⁷ Min. SUM 2.4.1909.

⁶⁸ "The British Executive Committee does not think it advisable to send out ladies unless there is a vacancy or a place has been prepared for them. If you send out three ladies now, they could not be accommodated at Ibi" (SUM - Juul 19.12.13). Cf. also Kumm - Pedersen 21.3.1911.

⁶⁹ Krusius - Pedersen 5.9.1913. This letter and others can be found in the Riksarkivet, Copenhagen, under No. 10.248.

⁷⁰ Newspaper cutting in the Dansk Forenet Sudan-Mission's minute book 1911.

not be delayed."⁷¹ Kumm also managed to reduce the possible number of single women in the South African branch.⁷²

Even when Karl Kumm in 1914 (because of his former German nationality) left Britain to work for the American branch, the British branch continued with his restrictive attitude towards women. His attitude, though, was not at all shared by the American branch.⁷³ The most famous of the women pioneers sent out by SUM-US was Johanna Veenstra,⁷⁴ who left America in 1919.⁷⁵ Together with other single women⁷⁶ she laid the foundation for one of the constituent churches (Benue)⁷⁷ of what is now the Church of Christ in Nigeria (COCIN).⁷⁸ She was sent out by the interdenominational American branch, but she managed to convince her church to form its own (denomi-

⁷¹ SUM - Juul 1.8.1913. Emphasis in the original.

⁷² Cf. Kumm - My Dear Friend 26.9.1913: "At the last meeting of the Executive of the Sudan United Mission, held at Swanwick on the 20th of this month, the attention of the Committee was drawn to the large number of lady missionaries, recently accepted by the various branches of the Mission. It was decided to consider at our next meeting on 8th October, the advisability of accepting no more ladies, for some time to come." Including accepted candidates, the ratios were: (men/wives/single women) SUM-GB 16:5:8; SUM-DK 1:0:3; SUM-US 2:2:2; SUM-Südafrika 7:3:4. Altogether there were six children in the SUM.

⁷³ They could have followed the example of the SIM, working side by side with the SUM in Northern Nigeria, which had a considerable number of women in pioneer work.

⁷⁴ (1894-1933). Johanna Veenstra, *Pioneering for Christ in the Sudan*, Grand Rapids 1926, London 1930. (*wiki).

⁷⁵ Edgar H. Smith, *Nigerian Harvest*, Grand Rapids 1972, 36.

⁷⁶ In 1932 the missionaries of her district were: Johanna Veenstra, Nelle Breen, Jennie Stielstra und Bertha Zagers. When Johanna Veenstra died, Nelle Breen became her successor. When Nelle Breen married Edgar H. Smith, he became the field leader, being the first male missionary in that district.

⁷⁷ The Church of Christ in Nigeria: Benue, counts [according to WCE] 232 congregations with 9259 adult communicants and a Christian community of 150,000.

⁷⁸ *www.cocin.org.

national) Christian Reformed Church Branch (1940) of the SUM.⁷⁹ For ten years she headed the Lupwe-Takum District of the SUM.⁸⁰ She never had men among her missionary co-workers.

In 1928 Johanna Veenstra attempted to change the restrictive attitude of the British branch ("Not to accept single ladies for service at present, unless they possess nursing, teaching or other special qualifications")⁸¹ which was incomprehensible to her. She wrote to the London Committee arguing that some of the best SUM (women) missionaries under these rules would never have reached the mission field.⁸² As the committee knew about her successful pioneer work, she was granted a hearing, and the harsh attitude was somewhat softened. It was decided "that case papers should be sent to single women if they appear to have had some adequate training or to possess some special qualification."⁸³ But opposition remained: Farrant, field leader of SUM-GB in Nigeria, insisted that only women with special qualifications were needed,⁸⁴ and when Dr Emlyn suggested to appoint women committee members or at least state that there was no objection to such an appointment in principle, such a decision was seen as presently not advisable.⁸⁵

Karl Kumm's restrictive attitude, so deviant from early faith mission practice, is hard to explain, as his wife had been Lucy Guinness. She had never acquired any "special qualifications" other than travelling,⁸⁶ public

⁷⁹ Edgar H. Smith, *Nigerian Harvest* 74ff.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 49.

⁸¹ Min. SUM 18.12.1928.

⁸² Min. SUM 18.12.1928. - Min. SUM Executive Committee 23.9.1954 reports the retirement of Miss E.M.R. Webster after 35 years "in charge of Sura District." So she must have started to work there in 1929.

⁸³ Min. SUM 22.1.1929; 28.2.1929.

⁸⁴ Min. SUM 23.7.1929.

⁸⁵ Min. SUM 24.5.1929.

⁸⁶ With her father she travelled to Egypt in 1900 to see if the Sudan Belt could be opened up from its eastern end to missionary work. There she met Karl, and they were married in Cairo.

speaking,⁸⁷ writing⁸⁸ and organizing a mission.⁸⁹ Had she applied to the British branch of the SUM in 1908, she would not even have been put on the waiting list, but the problem did not arise as she had died already in 1906. Karl Kumm had not only quite an independent wife, but also quite an independent sister, Pauline. She was a CIM missionary and head of one of its stations.⁹⁰ - I have not been able to find out what made Karl Kumm and the British SUM branch develop this attitude, so distinctly deviant from general faith mission attitude. But in view of later developments, one may judge that Karl Kumm was just a little ahead of his time.

Declining Possibilities

Women like Malla Moe, Alma Doering or Johanna Veenstra are counted among the "heroes" of the early faith missions. They were successful pioneers, and that was recognized. But as soon as books were written about them, they were no longer to be role models for young women missionaries. Their role was increasingly reduced to "female duties": Nurses, teachers, occasional doctors, secretaries, possibly wives. Typical was the SIM decision of 1925, that all women should have some nursing experience.⁹¹ Sometimes women were more cared for than they actually wanted. In 1940 Lily Gsell of the Evangelische Muhammedanermission [SPM] was

⁸⁷ Among other assignments Karl had asked her to go to America to build up the SUM home base there. On that trip she died in 1906.

⁸⁸ Among her books were: Lucy Guinness; E.C. Millard, *South America. The Neglected Continent*, London 1894; Lucy Guinness, *To Help to Heal. A Missionary Study and an Appeal for Prayer*, London nd [1896, dealing with Zaire]; Lucy Guinness, *Enter Thou. Pages from the Life Story of Fanny E. Guinness*, London 1899.

⁸⁹ It was her who brought the leaders of the British Free Churches and their missions to agree to and to some (limited) extent support the SUM. - In 1897 she had crossed India, which led to the start of the Behar Mission (Lucy Guinness, *Across India at the Dawn of the 20th Century*, London 1898).

⁹⁰ "Nachklänge von unserer Jahresfeier" in: *Chinas Millionen* Jan. 1901,4-7 [5].

⁹¹ Min. SIM 20.3.1925. Such a demand was never put on men. That it caused problems even for women can be seen in Min. 9.6.1925 where it was pointed out that the new rule should not be applied too strictly.

refused permission to continue work in Aswan without male care.⁹² When Malla Moe was to be evacuated during the Boer War, she refused and asked no one for permission. Her male colleagues waited a day for her but did not try to make her change her mind.⁹³

Over the years it was made increasingly more difficult for single women to be accepted by the faith missions, compared to the rarer men. In 1928 the SIM refused the application of a Miss Jones, as it was felt that "as more ladies were offering than men it would be well to keep the standards high."⁹⁴ If an applicant was engaged to a man with qualifications, the standards were liable to be lowered. "Although the Committee could not recommend her acceptance apart from Mr. Evans, they are prepared to recommend her acceptance as the wife of Mr. Evans."⁹⁵ Sometimes the home boards were more restrictive than the field leadership. When the SUM field leadership after the retirement of Rev. and Mrs Suffill proposed to make two women their successors, the home board refused, because of the "large responsibilities involved" in the work at Forum.⁹⁶

The cases shown here describe a development in almost all faith missions, though taking place at different speed and going more or less far. This development ran parallel to the decline of the women's societies (and

⁹² Eberhard von Dessien, Ulrich Ehrbeck, Eberhard Troeger, *Wasser auf dürres Land. 85 Jahre Sudan-Pionier-Mission/Evangelische Mission in Oberägypten*, Wiesbaden 1985, 41.

⁹³ They waited a day at the prearranged meeting place and having gained the [correct] impression that she did not want to be evacuated, continued their journey (Dawson, History 74).

⁹⁴ Min. SIM-GB 17.9.1928. - Similar was the case of Lena L. Paris: "That she be notified that the Committee feels that she would stand a better chance of being accepted for missionary service by some other Board because of the rulings of this mission relative to age and because the need at present is more for men than for women" (Min. AIM Chicago Council 27.10.1941).

⁹⁵ Reply to Miss Kniveton (Min. SUM 7.2.1911).

⁹⁶ "Committee decided to inform the Field Superintendent that they thought it inadvisable to make this appointment in view of the importance of the work at Forum, and the large responsibilities involved" (Min. SUM 24.5.1950).

possibilities) in the classical missions.⁹⁷ In both movements theological principles were (ab-)used: In the classical missions the principle of unity ("If men and women are all one, the women must not have their own organizations"), in the faith missions the principle of scripturalness ("Let your women keep silence in the churches, even if they prayed in New Testament times"). Pierce Beaver judged in 1968 that nevertheless faith missions still offer more chances to women than classical missions do.⁹⁸ This is today true for some of the faith missions, but not for all.

It is part of faith missions' lore that God sometimes calls women to do a man's job. Reports about such work are often given with a twinkle in the eyes⁹⁹ and in the firm conviction, that this or that woman is doing what really *is* a man's job, and sooner or later the matter will be set right and a man will do it.

This attitude, usually shared by women and men alike, takes care that the successor of a successful women is always a man. Women can work as pioneers. That is acceptable. But Malla Moe's successor was a man. When Alma Doering grew older and could not successfully run the American side of Unevangelized Tribes Mission, there was no successor, the mission was closed.¹⁰⁰ When Johanna Veenstra died, the exceptional case took place, a woman became her successor: Nelle Breen. But leadership passed into male hands not much later, when Edgar Smith married her and became field leader in her place. After the CIM women had successfully established the church in the Kwangsi River Basin, even men could be spared to work in that

⁹⁷ Pierce Beaver, *American Protestant Women in World Mission. A History of the First Feminist Movement in North America*, Grand Rapids ²1980, 179ff ("Integration and Sequel").

⁹⁸ Ibid. 217. For developments in the faith missions in general see: Helena Wiebe, *Toward a Complimentary Ministry: Women and Men as Full Partners in Christian Mission*, MA Fuller Pasadena 1981, esp. 94ff. Wiebe bases much of her argument on Beaver, applying it then to the faith missions.

⁹⁹ I remember quite well hearing a woman missionary speaking to the students of a Bible school. She spent quite some time of her talk on explaining how she, being a women, could do what she did. But it was obvious that she liked what she did.

¹⁰⁰ The mission dissolved itself in 1952 (James C. Juhnke, *A People of Missions* 111).

area. The bible schools reflect the same pattern: Prairie Bible Institute opened with L.E. Maxwell as director and three women teachers. One of them, quite old now, is still [1986] teaching theology part-time.¹⁰¹ When she retires, there will be plenty of women teaching at PBI, but none of them in theology proper. The same is the story of Beatenberg. Founded by a woman, her successor being a man. The last woman teacher, Frau Eiberle, retired in 1989, not being replaced by a woman. Or take the example of Madame Blocher as pastor of the Tabernacle Church in Paris. No woman succeeded her.¹⁰²

When A.B. Simpson started his independent work, women were very prominent among his co-workers during the many conventions which shaped the early CMA. The picture was the same in the CMA board, about half the members being women. But whenever a woman's place became vacant, a man took her seat. The final woman's seat was vacated by Mrs. Simpson's death. One faith mission, the German Sudan-Pionier-Mission, had a women's committee as was frequent with the classical missions. This was dissolved by integration.

If a women was successful in her pioneer work, of necessity the "historic compromise" about women evangelists would break down, since then men became available. Then a decision had to be made: Did she work as an evangelist in her own right or should now a man continue with what was rightly his? Usually holiness theology lost, Brethren theology in one guise or the other, won.

A reason, why the compromise was often dissolved in this way, lies in the decline of the Holiness Movement, which started before the end of the century. It was enforced by the Pentecostal Movement, which was born from the Holiness Movement and took with it a considerable section of that movement, the CMA for example losing one third of its membership.¹⁰³ The Pentecostal Movement attracted many of the leading holiness women. As

¹⁰¹ PBI catalogue, valid 1986.

¹⁰² Madame Blocher was Arminian, her "clan" now is Calvinistic (Int. Bernard Huck, Institut Biblique, Nogent-sur-Marne, 27.8.1986).

¹⁰³ Cf. Charles Nienkirchen, "A.B. Simpson: Forerunner and Critic of the Pentecostal Movement" in: Hartzfeld/Nienkirchen, *The Birth of a Vision* 125-164.

a backlash this reduced women's chances in the faith missions further, as everything Pentecostal became suspect.

This development was part of the overall process of re-Calvinization of Evangelicalism, which followed on the period of Arminianization of (Evangelical) Calvinism. Holiness theology had much room for women, Calvinist theology usually little. The result was that those missions, which kept much of the holiness teaching like WEC (see the case of Bessie Fricker further below in this chapter) and Christian Literature Crusade continued and still continue to grant women more possibilities than missions which have a strong Calvinistic base. This is the case with the American Unevangelized Fields Mission,¹⁰⁴ which has the same origin as WEC, but an almost exclusively Calvinistic background.¹⁰⁵ Another mission which stresses very strongly the need for *men* is NTM.¹⁰⁶ While in its early years NTM freely accepted even Pentecostals, its background are now predominantly the (usually strictly Calvinist) independent churches.

What has been described here as a process of re-Calvinization can also be described as part of the "great turn," in which the Evangelicals after around 1910 in an overreaction against "social gospel" and "liberal theology" lost much of their innovative power.

No longer needed?

The basic idea of the faith missions was to "utilize the neglected forces of Christianity." They offered women a chance which society as a whole did not offer them in those years of the waning 19th century. When Fanny

¹⁰⁴ *For the Evangelical Theological Faculty in Leuven I supervised Virgil Reeves: *The Changing World of Interdenominational Faith Missions. A History of the Unevangelized Fields Mission in France and its Predecessors: The Thonon Evangelistic Mission and the Alpine Mission to France*, 2000.

¹⁰⁵ The UFM (USA) explicitly wants women only for nursing, teaching, office work, or as wives. In this it differs strictly from WEC which comes historically from the same roots. UFM (USA) has an almost exclusively Calvinistic home base.

¹⁰⁶ At the back of its standard history there is an advertisement: "Men wanted!" which has a small note added: "Women - You Too!" (Kenneth Johnston, *The Story of New Tribes Mission*, Sanford 1985).

Guinness, appealing for the first students for Doric Lodge, wrote: "We are increasingly convinced of the importance of well-trained female agents among the heathen, and of the fact that multitudes of women who have the natural and spiritual qualifications ... are wasting their time at home here in England,"¹⁰⁷ she had, besides spiritual fulfillment, also much self-fulfillment to offer to the young women. But three generations later society as a whole has a lot more to offer to young independent women, and the faith missions have far less to offer than they had three generations ago. This endangers the aim of the faith missions to reach the unreached. In all missions women are welcome for all the many "female" jobs, but in many they are welcome only for them. If the faith missions give priority to evangelism, this is now very often a male priority.

This decline in the chances for women to work independently affected all missions, but some much less than others.¹⁰⁸ Of the bigger missions, WEC was most probably least affected. Even in WEC there were tendencies, coming from Brethren theology, that women should keep quiet in the church. But the international conference of WEC ruled clearly that, though every woman is *allowed* to keep quiet, no one can be *allowed* to *demand* of a woman to keep quiet. All positions of leadership are in principle open to women. Thus, WEC has a number of women as field leaders. In Gambia there was never a man as field leader, in Burkina Faso Mady Vaillant was field leader for many years, resigning from that position only when she wanted to start a new pioneer work in West Mali.¹⁰⁹ For some time Annette Botting was field leader in Zaire. The leadership ideal of WEC though, is not leadership by a man or by a woman, but by a "mature couple." This may look like a guise for simple male leadership, but that is not the intention.

¹⁰⁷ *The Regions Beyond* 1885, 110.

¹⁰⁸ According to statistics given in ¹³NAPMO for the IFMA missions the average is: Married women 40%, single women 17,5%, married men 40%, single men 2,5%. The Overseas Missionary Fellowship [CIM] has the highest proportion of single women, 27.7%. For the SIM it is 25%, for TEAM 22,3%, for Berean and AEF 20%.

¹⁰⁹ She is now deputy field leader. Cf. Mady Vaillant, "Komonos of Burkina Faso" in: Harley Schreck; David Barrett (eds), *Unreached Peoples: Claryfying the Task*, Monrovia CA 1987 121-126.

Leadership by a couple means that they both lead, and that the wife (for example of the International Director) has a job description of her own.¹¹⁰

Women in leadership positions otherwise are less frequent. In TEAM, the Korean field elected a woman as leader, though there were enough men around, and TEAM-US has appointed a woman as associate candidate secretary.¹¹¹ In OMF (Overseas Missionary Fellowship) women always had better chances than in other missions.¹¹² A mission which gives women equal rights is Wycliffe Bible Translators.¹¹³ Two women can do (and very often do) pioneer translation work just as a couple would do (and does).¹¹⁴ But since Wycliffe does not *directly* found churches and Wycliffe missionaries do little direct preaching, the position of women in the work of WBT does not contribute as much to faith mission *theology* as their numbers suggest. But the number of women working independently in WBT is high, and this suggests that, today as in the beginning, women respond eagerly and with a sacrificial spirit, when a mission offers them independent pioneer work.

Women's Position in Faith Mission Churches in Africa

In quite some of the early faith missions women were effective preachers of the Gospel and evangelists, and this greatly helped to speed up the

¹¹⁰ Present International Directors: Dr Dietrich and Dr Renate Kuhl (from Germany) at Bulstrode, Gerrards Cross, East of London, where there is also the British homebase. *The international headquarters has been moved to Singapore since then.

¹¹¹ Int. Richard M. Winchell, General Director, TEAM, March 1986.

¹¹² Mrs. Maureen Flowers has been "Representative for [Ethnic] Special Ministries" for many years.

¹¹³ In 1986 the Wycliffe membership consisted (including accepted candidates) of 1977 couples, 855 single women and 158 single men (Andreas Holzhausen - Fiedler 2.3.1993).

¹¹⁴ There are for example 18 teams of single women in Wycliffe of whom at least one is a German, as against 32 couples (Ibid.).

spread of the good message,¹¹⁵ but as a rule the lady missionaries' (comparatively) advanced position in the church was not passed on to African women. This is the more astonishing as in Asia the classical missions and the faith missions had developed the institution of the "Bible women."

In the early faith mission magazines there are occasional reports that women witnessed informally of their new-found faith, and WEC reports of a couple sharing their evangelistic efforts.¹¹⁶ But when it came to full-time service, always men were chosen, even where women were the missionaries. The early "Bible schools" (designed to train a *clerus minor* for the emergent churches) were for men. Often their wives attended, too. They were not trained like the men, but often a reduced "practical" programme for wives was administered.

In the time of the early faith missions in Europe there were attempts to develop, taking the deaconess (more correct: the female deacon) Phoebe of Cenchreae (Romans 16,1) as a clue, a female office in the church, and many fellowships had been founded by women, be they "deaconesses" as in Germany¹¹⁷ or "evangelists" as in Sweden.¹¹⁸ The faith missions were not so much involved with deaconesses, as that institution originated in the

¹¹⁵ Many examples are given in: Norman P. Grubb, *Mit Studd im Kongo*, 126ff, 175, 188. For an English version see: Norman P. Grubb, *With C. T. Studd in Congo Forests* (2013).

¹¹⁶ Of the shared evangelistic activities of an African couple this was reported (WEC, Northeastern Zaire, about 1918): "At Poko, Maduga and his good wife, Namisa, began a fruitful ministry. They gave themselves tirelessly to the work - one going out each day to preach while the other stayed on the station to speak to any who came there" (Alfred Buxton, *The First Ten Years*, London ⁵1927).

¹¹⁷ Important for the faith missions were the deaconesses of the Deutsche Gemeinschaftsdiakonieverband, related to the Marburg Mission. But the DGDV deaconesses never passed on the right to preach to women who were not deaconesses, just as the WGM in Kenya did not pass on women's ordination to African women.

¹¹⁸ In the Örebro Missionsförening these women evangelists were sometimes called the "Ongman girls." The big painting in the foyer of Örebro Missionsskola shows one of these women evangelists preaching.

classical revival, but in some missions there were a considerable number. In the beginning they did largely evangelistic work, later they retired more and more from this.

Phoebe and her modern colleagues could have provided a pattern for developing female offices in the nascent African churches, with no traditional church authority to hinder such innovations.¹¹⁹ But the missions, even their female missionaries, who had claimed this right for themselves in Europe, did not transfer this to the African churches, and equally, when the young churches established councils and boards, to sit on them was men's business as far as African participation was concerned.

A parallel development can be observed in Germany. Fredrik Franson's activities in Eastern Prussia in 1899 fascinated a number of young women so much that they wanted to work as evangelists. The leaders of the Gemeinschaftsbewegung (Fellowship Movement) there channelled their enthusiasm in becoming deaconesses, but they could not feel at ease in the classical deaconesses' houses, so one of the pastors founded for six of them a deaconesses' house which had a strong emphasis on evangelism, later to become known as Vandsburg. The Vandsburg Sisters (who in 1908 opened another house [Tabor] in Marburg)¹²⁰ started many new fellowships, and they did the preaching there. But they never made "ordinary" women preach, only ordinary men. They even organized a seminary to train the preachers, but no women were trained.¹²¹

This obvious difference between the women's position in the faith missions and in the churches, they started is usually explained as an accommodation to African culture, and in Africa woman's position is lower. To that the churches (or maybe already the missionaries) confirmed. But this argument is not convincing just because it is so often repeated and widely accepted. There are a number of arguments and observations which contradict this notion. The missionaries, if they felt it to be necessary, did not budge even from all out conflict, for example in the case of polygamy. Why should they

¹¹⁹ The only case of a creative development of women's office I found in a so called "African Independent Church," the African Brotherhood Church (see below).

¹²⁰ Their foreign mission interest was directed to China.

¹²¹ *For the overall history see www.dgd.org/ueber-uns/geschichte/ueberblick/.

shrink away from confronting African culture on such a matter as women's position in the church? The other observation is more important: Even in those areas of Africa, where women have a much higher position in society, like among the Baoulé in the area of the Mission Biblique en Côte d'Ivoire. The reason is not African culture, but missionary subculture. The faith missionaries, who usually did not come from the established churches, did not try to create in Africa those structures,¹²² through which in Europe and America they expressed their criticism of the established churches. As soon as the faith missionaries arrived in Africa, they changed sides. There it was them who erected a church establishment, and a church establishment is rarely in favour of independent women.

Two examples show that this change in women's role is not due to African culture: In the 1930s there was an advanced girls' school each in the Lutheran Mission on Kilimanjaro and in the Anglican CMS in Central Tanzania. When Chagga girls (supported by their parents) asked to be trained as nurses or teachers,¹²³ the Leipzig missionaries declined their wish as being contrary to Chagga culture. A change in Chagga culture could only be expected after many years.¹²⁴ At the same time in Mvumi the CMS trained successfully women teachers.¹²⁵ And the "Anglican" Gogo were usually considered to be "less developed" than the "Lutheran" Chagga. Even before the turn of the century there were quite a number of women teachers in the CMS in Uganda, and in 1905 Gayaza High School was opened.¹²⁶ The faith missions never worked among the Gogo or the Chagga,

¹²² In the same way the faith missions did not create the structures typical for the Holiness Movement in Africa, *and neither did the Churches of Christ establish their type of structures in Malawi (Mark Thiesen, "The Beginnings of Churches of Christ in Malawi," *Religion in Malawi*, Vol. 16 (Nov 2011), 20-26).

¹²³ Elisabeth Vierhub, *Berichterstattung über die Mädchenschule in Alt-Moshi 1938*.

¹²⁴ Min. Leipziger Mission, *Missionarskonferenz 1938*.

¹²⁵ Irene Fiedler, *Wandel der Mädchenerziehung in Tanzania*, Saarbrücken/Ft Lauderdale 1983, 319-333.

¹²⁶ In 1905 Gayaza High School was founded (*Gayaza High School 1905-1955*). For the context see: Tom Watson, *A History of Church Missionary Society High Schools*

but their cultures do not differ from cultures relevant for the faith missions like Kikuyu or Kipsigi so much that in this difference the reason could be found.¹²⁷

The argument, that the Bible does not object to women preaching, but that in African culture it is not advisable, is a frequent explanation for the fact that women do not preach in the Africa Inland Church. But the direct neighbour of the AIC is the Africa Gospel Church, in which African women regularly preach. If a Kipsigi woman is allowed to preach, does not depend on her own culture, but on the missionaries' culture. If she belongs to a church which goes back, through the World Gospel Mission, to the Arminian Holiness Movement, she may preach. If she belongs to a church, which goes back, through the AIM, to the more Calvinistic historical fundamentalism, she may not.

The Africa Inland Church is the strongest church among the Kamba, but more than 100,000 Kamba belong to the African Brotherhood Church, which in theology hardly differs from the AIC and whose head, Bishop Ngala, once belonged to the AIC. Bishop Ngala, himself a Kamba, did not conceive it as biblical to forbid women to preach as was usual in the AIC. So he allowed women to preach in his church, even on Sunday morning.¹²⁸ If two churches in the same culture with basically the same theology decide the question, if women are allowed to preach, so differently, one cannot assume that the reason can be found in "African culture." The reason is to be found in missionary culture, or the culture of the churches in their homeland, on which they patterned "their" African churches.

In the whole realm of the faith missions in Africa, the African Brotherhood Church is the only church, which has consciously developed women's offices. The Bible School, which the ABC opened very early in its history

in Uganda, 1900-1924: The education of a Protestant Elite, PhD Univ. of East Africa 1968 (Gayaza 148-189; Iganga Girls' High School 300-310).

¹²⁷ The rapid growth of women's orders in Tanzania points into the same direction. See for example: Irene Fiedler, *Wandel der Mädchenerziehung in Tanzania*, Saarbrücken/Ft Lauderdale 1983, 304-400.

¹²⁸ Int. Bishop Ngala 28.12.1986.

(1950), accepted women right from the beginning. After finishing the course, a woman is a preacher. After training she becomes a "sister," after five more years she may become a "deaconess."¹²⁹ If she wants to marry, there is no objection to it.¹³⁰ If she observes certain intervals and marries a man who is no hindrance to her service to the church, she may keep her church office.¹³¹ An example: Since more than 20 years a deaconess is the treasurer of the church, since 10 years she is married.¹³² Within the ABC the sisters and deaconesses have clearly defined positions, which include the right to preach and to teach. But they are not eligible for the "regular office of the church," that of the pastor. About 300 km southward, among the Lutheran Chagga, there are also deaconesses, forming the Ushirika wa Neema. But they belong to a classical church, they follow the pattern of the German deaconesses, concentrating on teaching and nursing whereas the deaconesses in the African Brotherhood Church might be best classified as female deacons.

One of the African faith mission churches, the Igreja Evangélica de Guiné Bissau, was founded by a single women, the WEC missionary Bessie Fricker. In 1898 Chapell in his collection of essays on the faith missions, writes that sometimes, where men fail, women succeed.¹³³ In WEC lore this is expressed in the saying: "If a job is too hard for men, God will send a woman." All this is true for Bessie Fricker, who, together with three young men, felt called to begin the first Protestant mission in what was then Portuguese Guinea. As a single woman she was not to travel with three single men, so it was decided that the three men should go ahead to establish a base for the mission in Bissau. Bessie Fricker was to go to Fogo, one of the Cape Verde Islands. The three men reached Bissau in 1939, but

¹²⁹ "Kanuni na sheria za African Brotherhood Church" in: *Momanyisyo ma Atongoi ma Ikanisa*, Machakos nd [valid 1986], 3.

¹³⁰ "The Catholic nuns were the example, but required celibacy is not biblical" (Int. Bishop Ngala 28.12.1986).

¹³¹ Kanuni na sheria za ABC 8.

¹³² Int. Bishop Ngala 27.12.1986.

¹³³ F.L. Chapell, *The Eleventh-Hour Laborers. A Series of Articles from "The Watchword,"* Nyack/New York nd. [1898].

after several months gave up because they felt the problems to be insurmountable.¹³⁴ Norman P. Grubb, C.T. Studd's son-in-law and successor, immediately called her back by telegramme.¹³⁵ She replied: "I hope you won't think me impertinent, but it was not you who sent me out; it was God. So I feel I should remain where I am and ask God His will."¹³⁶ Once Bessie Fricker had "disobeyed," Norman Grubb supported her wholeheartedly,¹³⁷ and WEC coined the household word: "A woman is the man to do the job."¹³⁸ For health reasons Bessie Fricker could only stay from 1940 to 1941 in Bissau. During this time, she established a fellowship of about a dozen converts and a number of interested persons.¹³⁹ In 1945 she returned, married to Leslie Brierley, one of the two first WEC missionaries to Senegal. She entered the colony illegally from Senegal and convinced the governor to issue the necessary documents to her, including husband and son.¹⁴⁰ She left it largely to her husband to organize the church, but for the

¹³⁴ "The Woman is the Man for the Job" in: *Worldwide* Sept./Oct. 1964; Betty Macindoe, *Going for God*, London, 1972. -*DACB: Brierley, Bessie and Leslie.

¹³⁵ Betty Macindoe, *Going for God*, London, 1972.

¹³⁶ Quoted like this in: "The Woman is the Man for the Job" in: *Worldwide* Sept./Oct. 1964.

¹³⁷ "You are more upon our hearts and in our faith and prayer than any other WEC worker ... They have been inspired to their roots by the heroism of your faith. You may feel weak, and the devil may tell you so, but the fact remains that in going in alone where others have failed, you have done something which, if you do not spoil it by turning back, will go down in the history of world evangelization. So stick to it, Bessie, for Christ's sake and your own, no matter how depressed and lonely you may sometimes feel. Stick to it even to death, if necessary. The Lord is evidently with you. Here another gift, I think of 150£ has come in for you. If only the boys had stood steady, all the money they needed for building would be here. Now stand steady in their place, dear Bessie (Grubb - Bessie Fricker 25.3.1941). "Still I can only say: Go through, dear Bessie" (Grubb - Bessie Fricker 8.4.1941).

¹³⁸ Cf. the retrospective article: "The Woman is the Man for the Job. The story of a lone woman who dared to believe and obey God. Results? A land open today to the gospel" in: *Worldwide*, Jubilee Year Sept./Oct. 1964, 1f.

¹³⁹ Grubb - Bessie Fricker 8.4.1941 answering Bessie Fricker - Grubb 1.2.1941.

¹⁴⁰ The fact that she was a woman seems to have made it easier for the governor to issue to her the necessary documents after her illegal entry so that husband and

Christians she remained the leader, the "Pastora" (after all she was the better preacher of the two).¹⁴¹

Because of restrictive Portuguese immigration rules, women always were clearly in the majority in WEC Guinea Bissau, and in many areas, they were the first preachers. Bessie Brierley was a fascinating preacher,¹⁴² and other women missionaries also preached regularly. Some women from Cape Verde or Guinea were very close to Bessie Brierley, especially the Cape Verdian Juliana Evera,¹⁴³ but they did not preach because none of them could read.

What remained of these beginnings? Most obvious is the fact that the Igreja Evangélica da Guiné since many years, has one woman as a full-time worker: Benvinda Vaz Martins, daughter of one of the early converts of Bessie Fricker. But though born in Bissau, she is not native to the country in the narrower meaning of the word, because her parents were Creoles from Cape Verde. Everywhere in the church women are allowed to preach. Women missionaries preach regularly on Sunday morning, local women do so less frequently, though they often contribute their testimonies or shorter exhortations to the services. About 15 years ago there seems to have been a movement in the church to make women keep quiet, but today, most probably also supported by the emancipatory political tendencies, the development goes the other way. The missionaries had not created structures designed to give women a greater share, but their example has saved the church from being restrictive. An elder, when asked if women should preach, replied: "If there had not been a women preaching, I would

child could enter the colony, too (oral tradition of the WEC missionaries in Guinea Bissau).

¹⁴¹ Int. NNN; Betty Macindoe, *Going for God*, London, 1972.

¹⁴² Int. Amaro Lopez 6.8.1986.

¹⁴³ Int. Benvinda Vaz Martins 5.8.1986. - Donna Libania, also from Cape Verde, helped Bessie Fricker much at the start, but played no important role later (Int. NNN, see also Bessie Fricker - Norman Grubb 1.2.1941, quoted in Norman Grubb - Bessie Fricker 8.4.1941).

not have been converted."¹⁴⁴ With increasing education Guinean women use the opportunities that were never in principle denied to them.

Women pastors in faith mission churches?

"The regular office of the church" is not for women. To this attitude there was at least one exception, Norman P. Grubb (WEC). When he had received a list of those proposed for ordination in Colombia, he replied to Pat Symes, field leader: "But why don't you ordain women? I think it is absurd to expect them to do the work of ministers such as they do all over the place, and yet refuse to ordain them. Plunge in brother, and recognize that the same Spirit works by women as by men. Make them all equal in the Gospel, neither male nor female."¹⁴⁵ He was quite alone with his view. But there are tendencies in WEC today which point in the same direction: At the African Consultation of WEC related churches with 50 representatives from the various churches, it was decided that women, if they are leaders in the church, also have the right to baptize.¹⁴⁶

Whereas in the classical churches in Africa an increasing number of women is being ordained, this is rare in the faith mission churches. I have only found information about two churches with ordained woman. In the Communauté Évangélique du Zaïre Kukangiza Nyambudi (ex Julienne) was ordained around 1978,¹⁴⁷ and the Église Évangélique du Congo ordained in 1985 Mme Emilienne Bounbou-Mouyabi.¹⁴⁸ Both churches have their roots in the Svenska Missionsförbundet, a Swedish mission with a strong holiness tradition and in Sweden with many women pioneers (evangelists) in its early phase. But as a whole these days the challenge to give women more leadership positions in the faith mission churches does not come so much from their own holiness heritage, but from the classical churches and from

¹⁴⁴ Int. Amaro Lopez 6.8.1986.

¹⁴⁵ Norman Grubb - Pat Symes 25.3.1941.

¹⁴⁶ Christel Meyer - Fiedler 30.3.1989.

¹⁴⁷ Her husband is a pastor, too (*Le Chemin. Trimestriel de Liaison et d'Information*, Brazzaville III/1985).

¹⁴⁸ "Enfin une femme pasteur" in: *Le Chemin. Trimestriel de Liaison et d'Information*, Brazzaville III/1985). More women are in training for ordination.

the Charismatic Movement.¹⁴⁹ The Africa Gospel Church, going back to the [holiness] World Gospel Mission, which all the time had ordained women missionaries, has never ordained women.¹⁵⁰

Women in the New African Faith Missions

There are, despite Keyes' statistics, few interdenominational African missions yet. But in them obviously women play as important a role as they played in the early faith missions in Europe. CAPRO and Christian Missionary Foundation gave women full rights, whereas the older denominational Evangelical Missionary Society (Jos, ECWA) and the Africa Inland Church Missionary Board (Kenya) send out women only as wives.¹⁵¹ With CAPRO Naomi Famunore is training secretary, and both with CAPRO and CMF single women can even work abroad.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ *For details on the situation of women in the Charismatic churches in Malawi see: Richard Gracious Gadama, *Women in the Charismatic Churches in Malawi: A Historical and Theological Perspective*, PhD, University of the Free State, 2016; For one of the female apostles, Nellie Chigamba, see: Felix Nyika, *Apostolic Office in Malawian Neocharismatic Churches: A Contextual, Biblical-Theological, and Historical Appraisal*, PhD, University of Malawi, 2015, 83-91.

¹⁵⁰ Int. Bill Reinheld 17.12.1987.

¹⁵¹ Poster: Missionaries of AICMB; Int. Rev. Panya Baba 4.2.1987.

¹⁵² Int. Naomi Famunore 5.2.1987.

Chapter 11: Continuity and Change – Faith Mission Churches in Africa

Over the centuries Christian theology grappled with a definition, how to distinguish a true church from one which is not. This grappling has not brought results that were fully conclusive, but in the course of these discussions two sets of criteria have emerged which are acceptable to most churches: the four attributes and the two marks of the church. The faith mission leaders did not use the terminology of the attributes of the church but made a major contribution to each of the four attributes. To the attribute of unity, they contributed their concept and practice of individual unity. There *is* Christian unity, so we do not need to unite the churches first but can immediately start cooperating in effective evangelism where no church does the job. To the attribute of holiness, they contributed the concept and experience of holiness as power for service. The holiness of the church is not found in its holy sacraments, but in God empowering the individual Christian for holy living. To the attribute of catholicity, the faith missions contributed their vision and their effort to make the church really worldwide. To do this, they used the neglected forces of Christianity: women, laymen, the uneducated. To the attribute of apostolicity, they contributed the concept of missions as the main task of the church.¹ The apostolicity of the church is not to be found in its bishops or in its apostolic doctrine, but in doing what the apostles did, who were missionaries first of all.

The Reformation stressed the marks of the church more than its attributes. The basic mark of the church is the word, revealed, written and preached. To this the faith missions wholeheartedly agree: Christ the divine word, the scriptures witnessing to him, and the church preaching the word. The second mark of the church are the sacraments: Baptism and the Lord's Table. Since the faith missions were interdenominational, they had to accept this mark of the church, too. How they did this is the topic of this chapter, and as the faith missions' attitude to the churches was characterized by accepting and ignoring them at the same time, it can be expected

¹ *Here my contribution is: Klaus Fiedler, *Missions as the Theology of the Church. An Argument from Malawi*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2015.

that there was a similar attitude to the sacraments. Besides the two "official" marks of the church, there is a third one, the ministry, accepted in theory only by some theologians, as a necessary mark of the church, but in practice by all the classical churches, centering in the idea of ordination. In this chapter, first the faith missions' attitude to the marks of the church will be discussed, then how they applied it in Africa and finally what the faith mission churches in Africa made of it.

The Faith Missions' Concepts of the Church

As interdenominational missions the faith missions have to accept all (Protestant) churches, and their concept of individual unity makes it possible, to accept even contradicting ecclesiologies. And indeed, in the faith missions there were and are missionaries from practically all Protestant churches. Nevertheless, it has become clear from the study of the personal development of the early faith mission leaders, that their private concept of the church was quite distinct and differed from the ecclesiology of the classical denominations. The faith missions never produced an ecclesiology of their own. They fully accepted the attributes of the church but gave them each a special twist.

The Church - That's Individual

In classical ecclesiology, usually the corporate aspects are stressed. In faith mission ecclesiology the individual aspects are stressed: It is not the churches which create unity, but the individual Christians. Holiness is not a corporate aspect of the church the individual has to believe in, but it is a divine offer which everyone may claim individually. Catholicity of the worldwide church is not achieved by creating a church encompassing all the churches of the world, but by individuals from all countries sharing and working together. Apostolicity is everyone's duty: Go, pray and give! This duty cannot be delegated, if there is a mission for a certain area, join it, if not, start one.

The Church - That's Activity

In faith mission theology, passive church membership does not exist. Every church member shares in the activities of the church local and worldwide, and even the sick can still actively pray. Theology is not speculative, but

primarily applied. It does not matter so much if one is saved as an Arminian or as a Calvinist, but if a theology does not actively encourage evangelism, it is not a good one. It does not matter so much when Christ exactly will come, but the contribution matters that eschatology makes to activate the missionary endeavour of the church.

Or take the attribute of holiness: For the faith missions holiness is clearly a gift of divine grace, but the individual, who wants to receive that gift, can take definite steps. He can give up all known sins, can consciously subordinate his will to God's will, and in a spiritual transaction can put his whole self on the altar. It's not much different with the attribute of unity: Don't wait for the churches to unite. All who personally believe in Christ are one, anyhow. And for those church members, who do not personally believe in Christ, unity would be just useless. Unity does not come about in a gradual process, in which the doctrinal differences are reduced by a growing consensus, but in evangelizing together.

In classical theology the attribute of apostolicity serves more to safeguard continuity, be it in doctrine or in power. The faith missions take doctrinal purity for granted and define apostolicity as active missionary work.

The Church - That's Conversion

As in the revival of the second half of the 19th century, the faith missions clearly distinguish between "believers" and "non-believers." You may have been baptized and confirmed and you may even have undergone a full church wedding, maybe even attend church regularly, if you are not saved, you are not a Christian.² It's not the doctrine or the sacrament that makes you a Christian, but conversion. Billy Graham, the famous evangelist of Christian and Missionary Alliance origin, formulated it in a more modern way than A.B. Simpson would have done, but with the same meaning: "Conversion ... is the impact of the kerygma upon the whole man,

² Ludwig Doll, among the founders of faith missions the only active pastor of a classical denomination, who administered baptism and confirmation himself, also preached that without a sound conversion anyone baptized and confirmed would go to hell (Ulrich Affeld, *Er mache uns im Glauben kühn. 100 Jahre Neukirchner Mission*, Wuppertal, 1978, 7).

convincing his intellect, warming his emotions, and causing his will to act with decision. I have no doubt that if every Christian in the world would suddenly begin proclaiming the kerygma and winning others to an encounter with Jesus Christ, we would have a different world overnight."³ Conversion, then, is not only the necessary mark of faith, it is also the necessary and most basic mark of the church for the faith missions, since he who is not converted, is not of the church. For the faith missions there was no difference in principle between a Christian non-believer and a non-Christian non-believer.⁴ A certain problem in this scheme presented the small children, as Jesus had promised them the kingdom of heaven unconditionally.⁵ But for all adults conversion as "crossing the line" from unbelief to belief, from perdition to salvation, changing life permanently,⁶ is of absolute necessity. Conversion may take place suddenly, as, very vividly, described by William F.P. Burton, Congo Inland Mission missionary candidate and then founder of the Congo Evangelistic Mission: "On August 3rd 1905 I knelt by my bedside in Batley, Yorkshire, and claimed the promises in John 1:12, Romans 10:13 and John 6:37. Well do I remember the prayer which I prayed: I am only a lost undeserving sinner, O God, but I take the Lord Jesus to be my Saviour, and please take me to be Thy servant. I ask this in Jesus' Name ... If I had died as I knelt down by my bed I should have dropped straight into hell, but I rose from my knees saved, rejoicing and on my way to glory."⁷ But conversion could also be a "gradual turning of the heart toward God" as experienced by Harry Guinness.⁸ In the process of

³ Billy Graham, "Conversion. A Personal Revolution" in: *Ecumenical Review* 19[1967], 284.

⁴ His critics said about Franson: "For the awakened he opened the gates of heaven, and for the unawakened, the gates of hell." (*Östgöta Correspondenten* 13.2.1882, quoted in Edvard Torjesen, *A Study of Fredrik Franson*, 214).

⁵ Matthew 19:14 "Let the little children come to me, and do not hinder them, for the kingdom of heaven belongs to such as these." (NIV)

⁶ *WWW* 1882,31 (A.B. Simpson).

⁷ Harold Womersley, *William F.P. Burton, Congo Pioneer*, Eastbourne 1973, 25f.

⁸ "This 'gradual turning of the heart toward God' exactly describes the growth of the Divine life in Harry Guinness ... Between his eleventh and twelfth birthday a deep and silent work took place in his heart, and though very gradual it proved to

conversion the "personal testimony" of friends often played an important part. Quite often the decisive step of conversion was taken in connection with a public evangelistic meeting (like those carried out by Fredrik Franson), but sometimes conversion is a calm and gradual affair.⁹

Conversion is not a human achievement, but God's gift, which man may or may not accept. In applied faith mission theology, there is no double predestination. The offer of salvation is for all, and it is assumed that everyone can accept it. That is Arminian practice, which very often runs hand in hand with the (Calvinistic) conviction of election. But that doctrine is not part of preaching, but of praise. Here again the theological inconsistency of the faith missions proves its worth. Norman P. Grubb of WEC formulated his attitude: "I don't ask that the Bible should be a systematic theology to suit my theological mind. Revelation through the apostolic writings was a string of unsystematic letters, written existentially to meet some church need of the moment ... Why should I be more systematic than the Bible and Paul and the other apostles?"¹⁰

For the faith missions putting all emphasis on conversion did not make them abolish the sacraments or spiritualize them, as the Salvation Army did.¹¹ But both are no longer marks of the church in the theological meaning of the term, and if to this one-mark others should be added as secondary marks of the church, the faith missions would not add baptism and communion, but fellowship and mission.

be the real change from death unto life." He was baptized on the 29.8.1873 in Edinburgh Castle, Thomas Barnardo's mission hall (Mackintosh, *Harry Guinness. The Life Story of Henry Grattan Guinness*, London 1916, 12).

⁹ A rare case, but one which exemplifies how different conversions may be, is that of Sheila Godfrey, later to become a WEC missionary to Zaire. Since her youth she was a convinced Communist. A colleague at work showed her 1 Cor 13. Through this she was gradually won over to a "philosophy of love" (Int. Sheila Godfrey 15.1.1987).

¹⁰ Norman P. Grubb, *Once Caught, No Escape. My Life Story*, Ft. Washington 1963. 79.

¹¹ There is one small faith mission, working in Zaire, the World Wide Grace Testimony, which does not practise water baptism, taking conversion as the baptism by the Spirit.

Faith Mission Concepts for the African Churches

The faith missions, themselves no churches and having no intention of becoming churches, had the aim to start churches in the mission fields. They were not bound to any of the Western denominations, so there was, except for the few denominational branches of the faith missions, no need to reproduce any denominational pattern. What were their ideas, consciously or less so?

Same Dogmatics

One thing was clear to all the missionaries: The churches they planted had to have the same fundamental dogmatics (which for the faith missions did not include any definite ecclesiology). In this they fully succeeded, and if there are minor differences in the explicit statements of faith between a mission and one of its churches, the reason can usually be found in the missionaries' peculiarities and not in independent decisions of the African church. The Africa Inland Church presents such an example: The AIC teaches the "eternal security" of the believer, though this doctrine cannot be found in the AIM statement of faith. The reason is that at the time, when the church had to formulate its statement of faith, the majority of the missionaries were Calvinists, after the tide of the Arminian influence had receded. Another example is the RBMU. No special eschatology is required of its missionaries, but in all theological schools RBMU missionaries either have to teach premillennial eschatology or not to oppose it, for the sake of unity. The African churches accepted premillennial eschatology because practically all missionaries held this view, though they were not required to do so. The same applies to the Communauté Évangélique Beréenne au Zaïre (CEBZ19). Its statement of faith contains a section on baptism while that of the Berean Mission does not.¹²

The missions were not only able to transmit their dogmatics to the faith mission churches, but also to the African Independent Churches which have sprung up from them. As a whole, the faith missions and their churches did not produce many African Independent Churches. Most of them can be

¹² Int. Thomas Lindquist 20.1.1987.

found in Kenya: The biggest of them, African Christian Churches and Schools, African Brotherhood Church and African Church have all the same dogmatics as the AIC, the ACCS even uses the AIM catechism.¹³

Faith missions as the ecclesiastical establishment

In Europe and America, the faith missions accepted and ignored the churches at the same time. Their founders usually came from movements which were critical of the established churches as all revival movements are. The faith missions and the revival movements they came from had been able to contribute innovative thoughts to various aspects of theology. Though they accepted the churches, the faith missions were to various extents critical of the churches. They had been critical of the centrality of the sacraments and did not accept for themselves that ordination should be the necessary precondition for leadership, and they had been able to give women a position which was strange for the establishment of the churches.

In Africa the faith missions had no established churches they could criticize or accept or reject. Immediately they took over the role of those they had often criticized at home, and the faith missions became the church establishment as soon as they had founded a church. In this process the faith missions did not develop their critical possibilities (like reliance on voluntary associations, para church structures, not paying much heed to ordination), but instead developed official structures and a solid church establishment.

¹³ Barrett in *Kenya Churches Handbook* 251 counts the Pentecostal Voice of Salvation and Healing Church as "schism from the AIC." But Silas Owiti, its founder, stresses that he left the AIM as an individual only. His leading fellow workers come from very different churches and from African Traditional Religion (Int. Bischof Silas Owiti 16.12.1987). In other parts of Africa there are few African Independent Churches which split off from faith missions. *Malawi is one example of these. A recent case is that of Rev Kanthili, who left Zambezi Evangelical Church after 18 years of service in 2012 to start his Hope in Christ Care International Ministries (www.nyasatimes 8.7.2012).

This included the decision that within one mission field there could be only one mode of baptism, but that the form may differ between various fields of the same mission.

The Faith Missions Providing the Initial Structure for the Church

Though the early faith missions did not do much thinking on the structures of the nascent churches, they provided the nascent church everywhere quite effectively with an organizational structure, namely their own.

The Faith Mission Churches

With the classical mission's comparisons are possible between the Western "mother churches" and the African "daughter churches." But as faith mission churches have no mother churches, comparisons can only be drawn between how the faith missions understood the church, how they portrayed the ideal church and how the faith mission churches actually developed.

Church Government: The Missions' Version

In theory the faith missions accepted various forms of church government, and all forms can be found nowadays in the faith mission churches. The AIM's work in West Nile (Uganda) has from its beginning in 1918 been part of the episcopal Church of Uganda,¹⁴ and the Reformed and Lutheran branches of the SUM have reproduced Reformed and Lutheran types of church government.

But the majority of the faith mission leaders conceived church government to be primarily congregational. This is understandable, as most of them in their transdenominational movement had been strongly influenced by the Brethren and often belonged to independent congregations or mission halls. In addition, a few early faith missionaries actually came from denominational Congregationalism, were Quakers, or, more often, Baptists. All the early faith mission leaders were reluctant to publish their concept of church

¹⁴ John Dobson, *Daybreak in West Nile*, London nd.

government, but quite some information can be gleaned from primary sources.

For the faith missions, ecclesiology was a matter of personal choice, not of communal decision. And if the church came into theological sight, it was primarily the local church, the individual congregation. Both concepts were carried over to the mission field. Ecclesiastical matters were to be decided on the field. Sometimes this was done by the missionaries in committee deciding how things should be handled, but often the decisions were even more individually, at least were attempted to be so. A typical case is the AIM. In the beginning every missionary was free to decide on the structure of the church, as long as he was the founder of a mission station. His successor was not allowed to change the structures his predecessor had established. This congregational approach was confirmed in principle in 1909 but abrogated for all practical purposes and supplanted by a presbyterian¹⁵ approach.¹⁶ Thus the African church was provided with a uniformity that is a reflection of the broadly presbyterian principles which the missionaries employed in their own organization.

The CMA experienced a similar development. Like the London Missionary Society 100 years before,¹⁷ it had started its work with a purely congregational ideology. Every missionary and every local church was to introduce

¹⁵ Here and elsewhere the word is written with low key 'p' to indicate that the word is not used here in its full historical meaning, but as describing a centralized corporate church structure based on the equality of all congregations and pastors.

¹⁶ "The missionary in charge of a station may elect the form of church government, but the final organization must be subject to the approval of Field Council and General Council" (AIM, Constitution and Policy 1909, 16).

¹⁷ The "fundamental principle" of the LMS (then still The Missionary Society) runs: "It is declared to be the fundamental principle of The Missionary Society that our design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy or any other form of Church government, but the glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the heathen and that it shall be left (as it ever ought to be left) to the minds of the persons whom God may call into the fellowship of His Son from among them to assume for themselves such form of church government as to them shall appear most agreeable to the Word of God" (Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895*, London 1899, I, 21f).

the form of church government that seemed best according to the scriptures.¹⁸ But as the missionaries were of very varied origin and as they (and the local churches with them) differed in the interpretation of scripture, more uniformity was sought for. Therefore, it was decided in 1923 that the constitution of every congregation on the mission field was to be modelled along the lines of the CMA specimen constitution for American congregations, contained in the CMA Handbook.¹⁹

Efraim Anderson, Svenska Missionsförbundet missionary in Congo, summed up the faith missions' experience with African church government: (1) The congregational pattern of church government is not suited to Africa. (2) All churches developed a presbyterian type of church government. (3) This fits the African context much better, especially if combined with episcopal elements.²⁰ The development which Anderson describes for the Église Évangélique du Congo almost every faith mission church has undergone. The churches have all centralistic constitutions, stress the uniformity of the church and provide for strong leadership. It is correct to define them with Anderson as "presbyterian with an episcopal touch."²¹ In addition to

¹⁸ "Each missionary and native community is free to adopt such form of church government as may be preferred, only requiring in every case that the doctrinal basis and practice shall be in strict accordance with the Word of God, and in harmony with evangelical truth" (The Evangelical Missionary Alliance, Constitution 1887). Cf. also Thompson, *A.B. Simpson* 131 and Daryl Westwood Cartmel, *Mission Policy and Program of A.B. Simpson*, MA Hartford 1962, 152f. Simpson held the same views for America (*WWW* 1883,165). His own congregation was an independent local church, but the fellowship movement he organized was presbyterian in its centralized structures, with quite some episcopalian elements, as the crisis which developed after Simpson's death shows (cf. Niklaus/Sawin/ Stoesz, *All For Jesus* 143ff "Troubled Transition").

¹⁹ CMA annual report 1923.

²⁰ Efraim Andersson [SMF], "Den infödda kyrkans framtid" in: *Svenska Missions-tidskrift* 1942, 221-233. The article was written when the Église Évangélique du Congo (in WCE still defined as PCon) adopted a modified presbyterian constitution (232).

²¹ Danfulani Zamani Kore, *An Analysis and Evaluation of Church Administration in the Evangelical Churches of West Africa*, Nigeria, PhD North Texas State University,

this process there is a process of administrative centralization going on in many churches. Especially centralized administration of finances creates centralized power structures.²² In this the churches would follow the precedence of the missions, whose missionaries also received their pay ("living allowance") from the central office, usually associated with the field leader.

The momentous process of change from the congregationalist ideals of the early missionaries to the present day presbyterian and episcopalian structures is seen by many contemporary faith missionaries as an adaptation to African culture which does appreciate strong chiefs and does not appreciate Western democracy.²³ Though firmly held, this explanation does not convince me. The argument does not detail how that process of adaptation worked, it does not explain why that process was not strongly resisted by the missionaries, who had shown themselves quite willing to join battle with African culture over some of its aspects. It also fails to explain why this process of centralization took equally place among the

1980 reports that of all the people he interviewed, one third defined ECWA's structures as hierarchical. Among the highly educated church leaders and among the missionaries this percentage was higher than among the pastors at the congregational level (80ff).

²² In the Holiness Union Church in South Africa [Helgelseförbundet] many press for this course of action (Int. Håkan Wistrand 13.6.1986). Doing this they would continue the process of centralization started by the missionaries but go further than they would have wanted it to go.

²³ These opinions were collected just before the current wind of democratic change began to blow over the continent.

Yaka in Kwango/Zaire with their strong king²⁴ and among the Kenyan Kikuyu and Kamba who never even had chiefs.²⁵

Another explanation seems to me far more convincing. In centralizing their structures, the churches did not adapt to African culture, but to missionary subculture: While the missionaries may have thought and maybe taught congregationally, they organized their mission presbyterian, and usually there was a strong episcopalian figure, too, the field leader. The churches did not pattern themselves after the New Testament nor after the ideals of the missionaries, but after their organization. The place of the annual missionary conference is taken by the Synod, the Great Assembly ("mku-tano mkuu") taking place every one to three years. The missionaries' field council was the pattern for what is now the "conseil exécutif" or "halma-shauri kuu." The mission station is now the District,²⁶ what used to be preaching places in missionary terminology are now "chapelles" or "sous-sections." The field leader's position is now held by the President or the Bishop of the church.

A typical case of such a church patterned on the model of the mission is CECA20 in Zaire which goes back to the AIM. The smallest unit is the Congrégation (kundi la Wakristo) with its evangelist (mwalimu, teacher). A number of congrégations forms an église locale (kanisa locale). A pastor is

²⁴ For a detailed study of Yaka culture from the point of view of a Catholic missionary see: Wilhelm Josef Otte, *Religionsbedingte Sozialkonflikte im Congo aufgewiesen am Beispiel des Stammes der Bayaka*, PhD, Köln 1970. For the position of the king see esp. 159. The king of the Yaka made it possible to expell the BMM missionaries from Wamba-Luadi because they refused to establish government recognized schools.

²⁵ Jomo Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya. The Tribal Life of the Gikuyu*, 1968(1938), 186-230. Kenyatta starts with the statement: "The Gikuyu system of government prior to the advent of the Europeans was based on true democratic principles."

²⁶ The original plan of the AIM was to establish missions stations sufficiently far from each other "to permit of the evangelization through native workers, under the supervision of missionaries, of large areas around each station" (AIM, Constitution and Policy 1909).

in charge of this *église locale*, and he administers the sacraments there.²⁷ The *église locale* is the decisive administrative unit. All *Églises locales* are equal in theory, but the bigger ones among them, especially those going back to a former mission station, have somewhat a leading position. 2-8 *églises locales* constitute one *sous-section*,²⁸ 4-10 *sous-sections* constitute a district.²⁹ The church's highest authority is the Conseil de Administration (Baraza Kuu).³⁰

In the context of the present-day churches the local churches are as dependant as they were under missionary leadership: In those days they could not choose the missionary or their local evangelist,³¹ now they equally cannot choose their evangelist or pastor. Higher authorities decide on appointments and transfers.³²

Because of ever increasing contacts between various churches, the question as to the appropriate title for the leader of the church often comes up. The Roman Catholic Church, existing almost everywhere in close neighbourhood to the faith mission churches, has bishops, and so has the Anglican Church, with its often close relationship to the faith missions. With other denominations like the Lutherans, there is an overwhelming tendency

²⁷ Communion is celebrated each month at the locale for the members of all *congrégations* (Int. Rév. Masangura Mbafefe-Mussamba, 3.1.1987).

²⁸ This applied in 1987. Under the new constitution, there are no more *sous-sections*, so that all *locals* may now be equal (Hank Schoemaker – Fiedler, 2.2.1993).

²⁹ Originally the districts were exactly the areas of the mission stations, later districts were created which never had a mission station, and in some districts the centre of gravity shifted from the mission station to the town.

³⁰ La Constitution de la Communauté Évangélique au Centre de l'Afrique (CECA) [valid 1986].

³¹ David Sandgren, *The Kikuyu, Christianity and the Africa Inland Mission*, 139-193 shows how the AIM fought against such tendencies, from 1925 onwards, with the idea of the "New Church," which included the claim that the missionaries needed to be obeyed as God's servants (178ff).

³² In CECA20 transfers are decided upon by the annual Conseil Administratif or the semi-annual Conseil du District (Int. Rév. Masangura Mbafefe-Mussamba 3.1.1987).

to appoint bishops,³³ and the Pentecostal Assemblies of God even have an archbishop now.

Since the faith missions had no doctrine of episcopacy, they had to find pragmatic solutions. As the first faith mission church the Kenyan Africa Inland Church created a bishop in 1973. The reason was the 1972 law restricting the term "President" to the Head of State. The AIC gave its regions the choice between Chairman, Moderator and Bishop. They opted for Bishop, since this title was found in the Bible. Therefore, President Mulwa became Bishop Mulwa, though this did not change his functions.³⁴ Later AIC Tanzania also made its leader a bishop, though there the government did not require such a change. The present bishop of the Communauté Évangélique du Kwango (Zaire) also sees little difference between a president and a bishop but prefers bishop since that title is found in the Bible.³⁵

In all three cases there was no intention of introducing the historical episcopate. A case in this direction can easily develop when a neighbouring Anglican bishop is asked to participate in the consecration of a faith mission bishop. A step in the direction of the office of the bishop being understood in the classical way was the consecration of Assani Baraka Koy in 1978 as the first bishop of the Communauté Episcopale Évangélique au Zaire [founded by the Unevangelized Fields Mission], in which the German Lutheran Bishop of Lübeck, Heinrich Meyer, shared.³⁶ This episcopal consecration was as much resisted by the UFM as by many of the church's members. It then resulted in the UFM terminating its relationship to the

³³ For a critical assessment of these developments (including proposals for electing an archbishop) see Cuthbert Omari, "Bischöfliche Verfassung. Eine soziologische Tendenz in der Lutherischen Kirche in Tanzania" in: *Blick in die Welt* I, 1988, 1-3. *Cuthbert Omari, Professor of Sociology at Dar es Salaam University, was my second supervisor for my PhD there.

³⁴ The decision of the regions coincided with President Mulwa's personal opinion (Jonathan Hildebrandt - Fiedler 23.4.1988).

³⁵ Int. Bischof Mukwalemba Ponzo 26.1.1987.

³⁶ Int. Donald E. Muchmore 30.12.1986.

church.³⁷ In 1980 a considerable section of the church, led by Rév. Masini, split from Bishop Assani's church,³⁸ but since in Zaire the government does not allow a church to split, the "dissidents" were not able to organize legally, and their wish of joining neighbouring CECCA16 was not granted.³⁹

Although there is strong tendency in East Africa and Zaire to opt for bishops, contrary tendencies can also be observed.⁴⁰ In CECA20 the issue of making the head of the church a bishop is still under discussion, but the number of supporters seems to decrease rather than to grow.⁴¹ The developments in Zaire must always be seen in the context of the government enforced Église du Christ au Zaire,⁴² which leaves all its constituent churches to decide on

³⁷ Herbert Jenkinson, A Brief History of the UFM in Congo/Zaire (unpublished, 1978), 11.

³⁸ In 1987 Jenkinson was invited by both sides for a visit to find out if cooperation with UFM could be resumed. His report gives the impression that the dissident group comprises a considerable section of the church (Herbert Jenkinson, Circular Letter 1987). Repeated attempts of dissident congregations to join CECCA16, were not acceded to. Thus, government and churches practise "comity" in a similar way to the former missions.

³⁹ Dissident groups from other Communautés were equally not accepted.

⁴⁰ In his report at the tri-annual assembly of CECCA16 Rév. Nonziodane, the représentant légal, stressed that CECCA16 was happy to be part of ECZ, but added: "Or nous ne pouvons pas accepter que celle-ci nous impose des pratiques contraires ... notre structure Évangélique. C'est ainsi que j'invite cette Assemblée ... présenter une position nette face au système épiscopale et la suppression de mandat des serviteurs de Dieu. Ainsi nous demandons ... la CECCA de prendre les dispositions nécessaires."

⁴¹ Int. NNN. Dr Marini, president of the church (and at the same time second in command of ECZ after Dr. Bokeleale), favours the introduction of the bishop's office in his church, Rév. Etsea, the représentant légal (de facto leader of CECA20) disfavours the idea. For him the NT office of bishop was a local congregational office (Ang'apoza Etsea Kila, L'episcopos, pasteur de l'église locale, Maître en Science Religieuses Faculté Libre de Théologie Évangélique Vaux-sur-Seine 1981, 50).

⁴² *The Église du Christ au Zaire was constituted in 1970. For the current position (now Église du Christ au Congo) see its official website: www.ecc.faithweb.com. The website also contains a detailed list of member Communautés.

their own constitution, but nevertheless strongly supports episcopal developments in order to strengthen its centralizing tendencies against the centripetal forces in the Communautés.⁴³

Although experience seems to have shown the futility of the attempt, younger missions or more recent branches of older missions try nevertheless to opt for congregational structures. This may happen just by the missionary teaching that a church should have a plural (unpaid) eldership, without actually trying to implement his teaching.⁴⁴ The WEC missionaries in Senegal, to the contrary, strictly implement congregational principles. Each of the few congregations has its own constitution, two neighbouring congregations even differ in minor points in their doctrinal statement.⁴⁵ But cooperation in a kind of union of all the churches is envisaged. The neighbouring mission, New Tribes Mission, is equally congregational but insists that there be no organization beyond that of the local congregation.⁴⁶

But even old faith missions tend to employ congregational principles when they start to work in new areas. A case in point is the AEF (Africa Evangelical Fellowship, originally South Africa General Mission), which has already

⁴³ Int. NNN. This also becomes visible by the fact that Dr. Bokeleale has the title "bishop," which his Communauté des Disciples du Christ au Zaire does not have. *Dr Bokeleale resigned in 1998 and was replaced by Pierre Marini Bodho (www.ecc.faithweb.com).

⁴⁴ Int. Glenn Crumley 21.1.1987 reports this, but also that these attempts achieve little in the Communauté Évangélique Beréenne.

⁴⁵ Int. Alastair M. Kennedy 10.1.1987. This is not usual WEC practice, but an African reaction to the teaching of one missionary. An association of churches has now been formed (Kennedy - Fiedler 3.3.1993)

⁴⁶ Int. Frank Lyttleton 28.7.1986. The WEC missionaries say of NTM: "They outwec the WECers" (Int. Alastair M. Kennedy 10.1.1987). This insistence on congregationalism does not tally with the centralized structures of NTM in Senegal. It remains to be seen if the churches will in the end copy the missionaries' doctrinal views or their organizational practice.

produced a number of presbyterian type churches,⁴⁷ but employed strictly congregational principles in their new efforts on Mauritius⁴⁸ (1969) and Réunion⁴⁹ (1970). The Église Évangélique de la Réunion is organized as a union of independent congregations,⁵⁰ the two congregations on Mauritius are registered separately with the government, because the government there only recognizes a union of congregations if there are at least five of them.⁵¹

In all cases mentioned the number of congregations is small and the missionaries' influence is large. It will be interesting to observe if these congregational structures will last, as up to now the faith missions have produced everywhere churches with Presbyterian structures, without following directly Presbyterian examples.⁵² This means that a new type of churches has developed: Presbyterian in church structure, baptistic in the form of baptism. The "presbyterian" structures were not developed for theological reasons but were patterned according to the "presbyterian" structures of the missionary sub-culture.

These presbyterian structures are not only questioned by some of the more recent Western missions, but also by the new African faith missions. Due to

⁴⁷ For ex. Africa Evangelical Church, Malawi; Africa Evangelical Church, South Africa and Swaziland; Evangelical Church in South Africa (*AEF Guide for Daily Prayer* 1985).

⁴⁸ AEF took over the work in Rose Belle started by an independent English lady missionary (AEF, Notes on Mauritius [nd] 1988).

⁴⁹ AEF, Notes on Reunion [nd] 1988.

⁵⁰ [The church] "is a fellowship of autonomous local churches. Each local church is directed by a committee of elders and deacons. All male missionaries are elders. Each local assembly develops within the structure as much liberty as possible" (*Guide* 74).

⁵¹ *AEF Guide for Daily Prayer* 75.

⁵² This does not exclude occasional congregationalist elements. In the Zambezi Evangelical Church [ZIM] the big congregations may call their own pastor (Int. Leonhard Evans 17.10.1985).—*For ZEC's struggle with female ordination see: Anthony Nkhomah, *Women in Search of Identity: The Case of Women's Ordination in Zambezi Evangelical Church*, BA, University of Malawi, 2005.

their (bad) experience with the established churches,⁵³ CAPRO decided just to start "simple New Testament congregations" without any central organization.⁵⁴ The missionary reports of the Nigerian Christian Missionary Foundation create a similar impression,⁵⁵ the Ghanaian Christian Outreach Fellowship mentions local churches only.⁵⁶ The New Testament Church, a Nigerian organization at the borderline between a nondenominational mission and an African Independent Church, is extremely congregationalistic, too.⁵⁷

When the faith missions started their work in Africa, they did not do much thinking on church structures beyond the congregational level. For one they usually had not done that at home either, secondly, they expected that the Lord's second coming was imminent and thirdly they never expected their work to be as numerically successful as it turned out to be after a few decades.

They also did not expect that whole populations would join their churches over the time span of a few generations, a development which started in Africa already before independence, but accelerated after *uhuru*. This means that frequently faith mission churches have become real folk-churches, churches comprising, though maybe not the whole population of a given area, but still a large section of it. To belong to a faith mission church does not any longer require a clear-cut break with traditional religion and customs, when an area is already third generation Christian. It has become

⁵³ Int. Alastair M. Kennedy 10.1.1987.

⁵⁴ Among the Maguzawa, congregations are named like "The Church in Bangu." Among the Gwari work had been begun before in Rumana Gbagi by Youth Corps people, who registered the church as "Baptist Church" (not belonging to any Baptist Union). CAPRO saw no point in changing the name. The churches finance themselves and are in no way tied to CAPRO (Int. Naomi Famunore 5.2.1987). Fitting with its rigid congregational principles is the individualized support system of CAPRO missionaries (Int. Wilbur O'Donovan 6.2.1987). *capromissions.org.

⁵⁵ CMF, Profile of CMF Missionaries 1986/1987.

⁵⁶ Christian Outreach Fellowship, Information sheet nd [1987].

⁵⁷ In 1987 missionaries worked in Benin, Togo and Ghana (Samson Awumehab - Fiedler 9.3.1987).

socially acceptable to be a Christian. The thing to do is to join the church, and if conversion and baptism are required, join the church in that way.

This has led to the spread of nominality as it has in the European folk churches. Contrary to what one might expect in terms of dogmatics, this development took place equally in the minority of faith mission churches with infant baptism as in the majority of the faith mission churches with believers' baptism: This means that a new type of church has developed: Folk-churches with believers' baptism, but folk-churches nonetheless.

The Ministry

A most important aspect of church government and church structure always is ordination or its absence. In this field also, momentous changes have taken place between ideas and practices of the early faith missionaries and the practice of the majority of today's faith mission churches. In general, the faith missions had a "low" view of the ministry in the church, though they were not hostile to it. But Brethren and Quaker knew no set-aside ministry, for the Baptists and for the Independents it was mainly functional.⁵⁸ Ordination was accepted in the faith missions, but little value was placed on it. But nevertheless, the missionaries were convinced that they were ordained indeed, if not by human hands, then by the "mighty ordination of the pierced hands."⁵⁹

When the faith missions started their work in Africa, little thought was given to the ministry. But as much as they had to establish churches without having thought too much about them beforehand, they also had to establish a ministry. This was simple in the beginning; no titles were used and no ordination was involved. But right from the very beginning the ministry was strictly hierarchical: Field leader, Head of station, ordinary

⁵⁸ Among Baptists ordination is usually practised, but just as setting aside for full time service, while neither preaching nor the administration of the sacraments are reserved for the ordained ministry. Early Methodism had the same view: Alan D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England. Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914*, London/New York 1976, 150.

⁵⁹ For more details see chapter 6 "The ordination of the pierced hands."

missionary. The ministers usually were men, but not always. The ministry was purely functional.

The office bearers of the mission automatically became the office bearers of the nascent church. There, one level below the missionary, another office was added for natives only: the office of evangelist/teacher. The evangelist had to be gifted, but no defined training was required, nor were any special spiritual rights accorded to him, except the right to preach, which was anyhow available to anyone who was able to preach. In the early days the evangelist usually lived at the mission station and regularly visited the surrounding villages. Later he usually settled in one of the villages and so effectively became the pastor of that village congregation, but without any sacramental rights.⁶⁰ Though he was the pastor of the local Christian community, he usually spent most of his time in teaching school.

Often the teachers/evangelists were spoken of as "native assistants," which clearly shows their relative position in the hierarchical structure of: Field leader - Head of station - ordinary (male) missionary - evangelist/teacher.

For missionaries as much as for teachers/evangelists, ordination was of no importance. But there was an important difference: Usually some of the missionaries were ordained, whereas none of the teacher/evangelists was. In many of those missions which held ordination to be important, usually all male missionaries were functionally considered as being ordained.⁶¹ For them the "ordination of the pierced hands" took the place of the "ordination by the laying on of hands." But this was not applied to Africans.

Ordination Introduced into the African Church

A preliminary step, though not a conscious one, for the introduction of ordination in the African faith mission churches was the non-application of the functional understanding of ministry to Africans. Unordained

⁶⁰ This development, typical for almost all missions, is well described in: David Langford, *Equipping for Ministry in Zaire*, unpublished 1986 (30). The paper was written with CECA20 [AIM] background.

⁶¹ Herein also CIM gave the lead (Moirra J. McKay, *Faith and Facts* 121).

missionaries could administer the sacraments, unordained Africans could not. By this incidentally race and sacramental rights were tied together.

To introduce ordination and to tie the sacraments to ordained office bearers was a break with early faith mission theology. Then ordination was a possibility, now it became a necessity. Africans could not count on the "ordination of the pierced hands," they had to rely on the ordination by (white) human hands, an ordination much easier to be regulated and controlled than the divine one.

The importance of ordination was enhanced by the fact that it had first to be granted to the African church. Just one example to illustrate this point: In 1909 the Svenska Missionsförbundet (SMF), in erecting Madzia mission, started its work in [French] Congo. The first baptism was in 1913. In 1940 the Église Évangélique du Congo had 21394 members, being pastored by 473 evangelists. Suddenly in 1942 eight of them were ordained as pastors.⁶² Why had none been ordained earlier? And when the SMF decided to bestow ordination on the church, why only eight pastors?

In almost all faith mission churches the process was the same. Usually ordination was bestowed pretty late: SUM-GB granted the first ordinations in 1938 after 34 years of missionary work,⁶³ the World Gospel Mission in Kenya employed Johana Ng'etich in 1932 for pastoral work, but he was ordained only in 1960, being more than 60 years old.⁶⁴ The AIM granted ordination in 1945 after 50 years of missionary work,⁶⁵ though already in 1932 two men had been "licensed" after finishing bible school.⁶⁶ In Guinea

⁶² Hilaire Nkounkou et al., *75e Anniversaire* 4-17.

⁶³ Ordained were Toma Tok Bot [Forum], Bali [Langtang] and David Lot [Panyam] (SUM, *The SUM 75th Jubilee 1904-1979*, Sidcup 1979, 8).

⁶⁴ He was born about 1885. This means that at ordination he was about 65 (Rev. and Mrs Gerald Fish, Rev. and Mrs Richard Adkins, *The Call to Battle*, Kericho 1982, 5-7).

⁶⁵ Benjamin N. Watuma (Africa Inland Church, *First Anniversary of the AIC, 15th October 1972*, Kijabe 1972, 25).

⁶⁶ "Licensed to the ministry" (Clara Guilding - H. Campbell 22.6.1932 in: John A. Gration, *The Relationship of the Africa Inland Mission and its National Church in*

Bissau ordination was introduced in 1981, four decades after the first conversions and three decades after the first baptisms.⁶⁷

There are three reasons for the late introduction of ordination: (1) After 1900 missions in general were reluctant to ordain Africans, simply because after the scramble for Africa Europeans (missionaries included) usually thought less of African capabilities than before the Scramble.⁶⁸ (2) The faith missions had started their work later than the classical missions. Their churches were then usually smaller and the need for ordained African ministers seemed less obvious. (3) The faith missionaries had not reflected much upon the issue of ordination. Before they could pass it on to the African church, they had to find out what it meant for themselves. To be able to do this, the missions had to reflect their concept of the church. By granting ordination, an interdenominational mission would recognize that on the missions field it was a church. Some missions, for example AIM in Kenya, were quite reluctant to admit this. And if this be admitted, immediately the additional question would crop up: Would the missions now have to ordain those members who incidentally were not ordained?⁶⁹ Would they lose their sacramental rights, whereas up to now to be male

Kenya Between 1895 and 1971, PhD, New York University 1973, Ann Arbor [UMI] 1974, 231).

⁶⁷ *Trombeta. Boletim Informativo das Igrejas Evangélicas da Guiné-Bissau*, March 1985.

⁶⁸ The Anglican CMS in Uganda for example around that time reduced the number of ordinations drastically (Information Louise Pirouet).

⁶⁹ Ernest Dalziel brought up the issue during the 1929 AIM annual conference: "I asked the question, 'Who gave us the right as members of the AIM to ordain native ministers, who was going to ordain them?' No one could give an answer although it has been taken for granted that we have the right. Then I contended that if the AIM has the right to ordain natives we also have the right to ordain missionaries on the Field [and] moved that all Senior Missionaries be ordained ... who desired ordination" (Ernest Dalziel - H. Campbell 22.3.1929 in: Gratton, *The Relationship of the AIM* 231f).

and white had been a sufficient qualification? Another question was: Is the African church to ordain or the mission? Can a mission ordain at all?⁷⁰

When ordination was introduced, it was only granted to the few.⁷¹ In the churches the first ordinations are usually seen as an important step towards independence. That's how the missionaries saw it, too. By ordaining only few Africans, they cared that the level of competition with them would be kept low and the young church dependent. The limited number of ordinations produced a marked change in the conception of the ordained ministry. In Europa and America each congregation usually could get an ordained minister, especially in America there were often several in one congregation. In Africa only a few pastors were (and are) ordained, so ordination has become a stratifying factor in church government. The local pastoral work is all being done by the unordained pastors (called evangelists, teachers, elders etc), whereas the ordained pastor is the supervisor and sometimes also the travelling dispenser of the sacraments. In addition, he is eligible for the highest offices of the church. Ordination is no longer the church's blessing at the beginning of the full time pastoral ministry, but a reward for good services and a promotion to the higher ranks of the ministry. This practice is even contrary to the theology of those churches who apply it. The theology of ordination is, just to take one example, expressed by CECA20 [AIM] as: "Setting aside someone to do only the work of God all his life long."⁷²

With some exceptions, which will be treated below, the faith mission churches have developed very similar structures. CECCA16 [WEC] has three

⁷⁰ These issues were never solved in principle but by history: AIM was finally integrated into the AIC, nowadays even missionaries can be ordained by the AIC. Ordination had been offered twice to Jonathan Hildebrandt by the AIC (Int. Jonathan Hildebrandt 14.12.86).

⁷¹ Cf. also David Langford, *Equipping for Ministry in Zaire*, unpublished, 1986 (30).

⁷² "Ni kwa kuweka mutu awe kwa kazi ya Mungu tu katika maisha yake yote" (Constitution ya Communauté Évangélique au Centre d'Afrique [valid 1986]).

levels of church leaders: Catechists, evangelists, ordained pastors.⁷³ An ordained pastor may have to care for up to 20 congregations.⁷⁴ For each level there are separate training institutes, and even ordained pastors often receive hardly any remuneration.

In the Angola Evangelical Mission, which had never any structured training for its office bearers, there was nevertheless the rule that only a pastor of a central congregation was allowed to baptize, to administer communion and to conduct weddings. The deacons, leaders of the 2-6 village congregations under him, were to give baptismal instruction, but were not allowed to baptize at the end of the course. For the quarterly celebration of communion all had to go to the central congregation.⁷⁵

In the AIM area the stratification of the ministry has taken on even more drastic forms than usual: In Zaire (CECA20) almost half of the pastors are not ordained, and in the Africa Inland Church in Kenya three quarters of all pastors never manage to be ordained. The result may be that a whole District of the church does not even have one ordained pastor.⁷⁶ The means to achieve this extraordinary stratification is the concept of "licensing," which the AIM had introduced in 1932, then not being willing to grant

⁷³ Their ratio is about 1:3:10. The 1983 CECCA16 workers' list counts, on the male side, for 14 parishes 68 pastors, 189 evangelists and 794 catechists (Communauté Évangélique du Christ au Coeur de l'Afrique, Majina ya Watumishi wa Mungu 1983).

⁷⁴ In Lubutu Parish for ex. there were in 1986: 140 congregations ("chapelles"), 1120 baptized and 4139 unbaptized Christians, 6 ordained pastors, 21 evangelists and 88 catechists (Rapport Statistique Paroisse de Lubutu 1986 CECCA16). Different from other faith mission churches, CECCA16 also list wives as church workers, and single women can be evangelists or catechists. This means for Lubutu an additional 28 evangelists and 108 catechists. If wives are not counted separately, each congregation has one couple or individual to pastor it, but every ordained pastor has, in theory at least, to look after 23 or 24 congregations.

⁷⁵ Mary Beard, *In Times of Trouble*, Toronto 1964, 18.

⁷⁶ Samson Kozi Maliwa, leader of Tana District with 18 congregations is only licensed. For this somewhat remote AIC district this means that hardly a church wedding can take place, as for that an ordained pastor has to be "imported" into the district (Int. Samson Kozi Maliwa 20.12.1986).

Africans full pastoral rights. The concept of "licensing" is of Presbyterian origin. It grants certain rights above those a layperson has (like preaching, administering the sacraments under special circumstances), but a person licensed is clearly below a person ordained.⁷⁷ Licensing was usually used as an exceptional or as a preliminary measure. But in AIC and CECA20 licensing is not a preliminary stage nor an exceptional case as it should be,⁷⁸ but the rule.⁷⁹ To be ordained, one has to accumulate distinctions and qualifications. If ordination is granted at all, then only after many years of service.⁸⁰ Ordination enhances the pastor's status, and only after ordination he may be called "Reverend."⁸¹ The licensed pastor may administer baptism and celebrate communion,⁸² but only an ordained pastor is allowed to conduct a wedding and to collect the remuneration that goes with it.⁸³ The church has obviously followed the missionaries' example: When they granted

⁷⁷ With this differentiation the CMA managed to have its lady missionaries counted in terms of insurance as ordained, without having to do that in matters ecclesiastical (Wendell Price, *The Role of Women in the Ministry of the Christian and Missionary Alliance*, DMiss, San Francisco Theological Seminary 1977, 57-66 describes this complicated process in detail).

⁷⁸ The regulation still reads today: "[Licensing] is to test the candidate and to prepare him for ordination" (Constitution ya Communauté Évangélique au Centre d'Afrique [CECA20]).

⁷⁹ The AIC 1954 Constitution (31) makes provision for licensing, the 1972 Constitution does not. But this is fully ignored.

⁸⁰ Of the about 200 male students who finished AIC Kapsabet Bible School about five have reached ordination so far (Int. Mrs Naudé, Lecturer, Kapsabet Bible School 16.10.1986).

⁸¹ Only ordination grants access to the higher offices of the church (Int. Alice und Henry Ndolo 28.12.1986).

⁸² This applies to AIC; in CECA20, the licensed pastor may not baptize.

⁸³ It is often claimed that a marriage officer must be ordained in Kenya. But in reality government does not stipulate that, only that the minister be recognized by his church.—*I observed a similar regulation in the Evangelical Lutheran Church on Kilimanjaro, where the Evangelist has no sacramental rights, the "Evangelist of the Synod" has the right to baptize and to administer Holy Communion, but to conduct weddings you need to be an *ordained* pastor (my observations in the 1970s).

ordinations, they did so sparingly. In AIC and CECA20 an élite group defines and defends its leadership role by the concept of licensing as being inferior to ordination. Here again a church patterned itself not according to African culture, but according to missionary sub-culture.⁸⁴

In the Africa Gospel Church, neighbour to the AIC in the West, the situation is very similar, with the number of ordained pastors being efficiently kept low. According to the GAC statutes ordination is possible after 10 years of service, out of which four years may be spent in bible school training. In reality hardly ever anyone below 50 is being ordained,⁸⁵ some ordinations even took only place after retirement.⁸⁶ Presently the average age of ordination tends to lower itself.⁸⁷ The consequence of so many years to be passed before ordination can come into sight is that in the AGC's mission field in West Pokot, where Pastor Edward Tonnui works successfully since the 1970s,⁸⁸ baptisms and communion can only take place when one of the ordained pastors can be convinced to go on such a wearysome and expensive trip. For the whole church of more than 15000 members in 1985 there were only 10 ordained pastors, some of them retired. Since there is no licensing and laypersons have no sacramental rights, the GAC is practically a church without sacraments.⁸⁹

In the smaller faith mission churches the stratification process has not (yet?) advanced so far. In the Église Chrétienne Évangélique du Mali [CMA] for example there are only catechists and ordained pastors, similarly in the

⁸⁴ In several areas, there are moves under way to license earlier and to grant ordination sooner, for example in CECA20 and Africa Gospel Church.

⁸⁵ Int. Henry Ng'eno, AGC missionary in West Pokot 18.12.1986.

⁸⁶ Int. Richard Adkins, WGM (Kenya Highlands Bible College), Kericho 18.12.1986.

⁸⁷ Among those ordained in 1986 the four youngest were about 50, for 1987 seven ordinations are envisaged, of them four for men between 30 and 50 (Int. Rev. Jonah A. Chesengeny, Moderator, AGC Kericho 18.12.1986).

⁸⁸ In West Pokot he has started 10 congregations, some of these are pastored by AGC missionaries with several years of training (Kenya Highlands Bible College) betreut werden (Int. Bill Reinheld, WGM, Kenya Highlands Bible College, Kericho 16.10.1986; Int. Henry Ng'eno, Missionar der AGC in West Pokot 18.12.1986).

⁸⁹ Int. Bill Reinheld 16.10.1986.

Igreja Evangélica da Guiné [WEC] there are only evangelists and (since 1981) ordained pastors.⁹⁰ But even in the smaller churches ordination has generally been introduced. This has made the faith mission churches more respectable in their religious context. But at the same time, they have lost much of the faith missions' critical heritage. The faith missions did not develop the concept of the ministry in their African churches according to their own premises, but broadly followed sooner or later the pattern established by the classical missions.

The faith mission churches are now more respectable than before, but the price paid was to create a large clerus minor, doing most of the work in the church, and that the laity is barred from any leadership position in the church. People widely accept being governed by the ordained élite,⁹¹ but the still small group of the better educated laity can make their criticism felt.⁹² In other areas, especially in Nigeria, the challenge to ordained superiority comes from participants in the Charismatic Movement.

In rare cases attempts were made to develop churches without pastors. An example for this is the United Liberia Inland Church [WEC]. In its northern section only the leader (president) of the church, Donald Wuanti, is a pastor. Nobody has received any training for the ministry, and there are also no evangelists or catechists. This came about because the missionaries patterned the church according to the Indigenous Church Principle derived from Roland Allen. But the result was not churches spontaneously expanding, but a small church with congregations that were led by authoritarian elders.⁹³ When later WEC started to work in the South of Liberia, they

⁹⁰ Trombeta. *Boletim Informativo das Igrejas Evangélicas da Guiné-Bissau*, März 1985.

⁹¹ For the ordinary Christian there is a tremendous difference between laity and clergy (Langford, *Equipping for Ministry* 10).

⁹² During the CECCA16 church conference of 1986 the question came up for discussion if ordination was required for the top offices of the church. The majority carried the motion, but the (better educated) representatives of the church's school and health systems voted against it.

⁹³ Int. Alastair M. Kennedy 10.1.1987.

reacted to the developments in the north by arranging for the congregations to be led by trained (but largely unpaid) pastors.⁹⁴

The New Tribes Mission in Senegal knows only the offices of elder and deacon.⁹⁵ But as only very few have been baptized there, it remains yet to be seen if this rule will produce spontaneous growth or stagnation.

Changing Concepts of Baptism

The Faith Missions' Twofold Concept of Baptism

The primary purpose of the faith missions was evangelism, to reach the unreached areas of the globe with the Gospel as speedily as possible. For this as many evangelists/missionaries as possible would be needed, so their denominational allegiance was not to be a hindrance.⁹⁶ This cut deep into denominational concepts of the church since generally the sacraments were seen as necessary marks of the church (*notae ecclesiae*). But for the faith missionaries the second mark of the church (besides God's word) was not the sacraments, but conversion.

⁹⁴ Ibid. Over the last years some young Northerners attended the Bible school. On their return home the elders refused to call them or, if they did so, demanded that they "live by faith," but nobody gave them anything for their support.

⁹⁵ Int. NNN, Sanford 20-22.2.1986; Int. Frank Lyttleton 28.7.1986.

⁹⁶ "'Christ sent me not to baptize but to preach the Gospel.' What did Paul mean? Did he not believe in Christian baptism? No, I think he meant that if baptism was going to become a matter of controversy and strife in the Church, it would be better to discard it rather than fight over it" (Bingham, *Seven Sevens of Years* 114).

The sacraments as such were taken for granted,⁹⁷ but neither their form nor the theology pertaining to them was fixed.⁹⁸ So infant baptism and believers' baptism were acceptable side by side, and if a missionary wanted to change his conviction, that was open to him, too. Conversion, in denominational theology often optional, became constituent, baptism, in denominational theology constituent, became optional, due to the priority of evangelism.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ For ex. CMA: "The local church is a body of believers in Christ who are joined together for the worship of God ... and observance of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper." TEAM states in its doctrinal statement: "We believe that water baptism and the Lord's Supper are ordinances to be observed by the Church during this present age. They are, however, not to be regarded as means of salvation." RBMU mentions in its "Memorandum of Association" (1903) "the divine institution of the Christian ministry, and the obligation and perpetuity of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper," but neither in 1930 nor in 1956 was this clause repeated. The 1982 version, written on request of RBMU-USA and for RBMU-GB even after the split of the mission, speaks of baptism, but not of water baptism: "We believe that the Church, the Body of Christ, consists only of those who are born again, having been baptized into Christ by the Holy Spirit at the time of regeneration."

⁹⁸ A few missions opted for believers' baptism. The oldest example is possibly the Gospel Missionary Union: "We believe in the great commission as the primary mission of the church, i.e., the preaching to all the world of the Gospel of the grace of God, teaching converts to obey the Lord in baptism by immersion, to remember Christ's death till He comes in the observance of the Lord's Supper, to be always careful to live godly lives in the world, and to pursue fellowship and seek ministry in visible, organized churches" (According to GMU - Fiedler 2.11.1987 the doctrinal statement of GMU is unchanged since the beginnings). In the NTM doctrinal statement, formulated later but reflecting original practice, it is stated: "We practice the baptism of believers by immersion."

⁹⁹ Rowland Bingham, after having had to abort his venture to reach Northern Nigeria, had eventually become a Baptist pastor. For his next attempt he contemplated to start a Baptist mission. But when a Presbyterian lady gave him a considerable sum for the new mission, he came to the conclusion that it would not be fair to accept Presbyterian money, but to refuse to accept Presbyterian missionaries.

But theory here as often differs from practice. While both concepts of baptism were accepted, the faith mission founders personally had clearly opted for believers' baptism, which had for almost all of them meant rebaptism, as they had been baptized as infants. But they took their (re-) baptism not as an ecclesiastical decision but as a matter of personal spiritual development.¹⁰⁰

To Africa the faith missionaries brought two versions of baptismal theology: The conviction that both modes of baptism were scripturally sound and the practice of their founders (and many of their members) to prefer believers' baptism.¹⁰¹

Only One Mode of Baptism for the African Churches

Nowhere did missionaries pass on their twofold concept of baptism to the churches they founded.¹⁰² And since one mode of baptism only was acceptable, most missions opted for believers' baptism, even missions like the QIM in Nigeria, whose early missionaries were all Presbyterians. This can only be explained by the fact that the missionaries, where they felt uninhibited by the existence of churches with infant baptism, passed on that concept of baptism which they felt in reality to be the better one.¹⁰³

This did not hinder many of the faith missionaries personally to hold on to their infant baptism and even have their children baptized, but such extraordinary baptisms were not to take place in the presence of Africans, in the

So he decided that the doctrine of baptism should be a matter of personal conviction in the new mission (Bingham, *Seven Sevens of Years* 109).

¹⁰⁰ A.B. Simpson (1881) and A.T. Pierson (1896) for example were baptized by Baptists, but never became Baptists.

¹⁰¹ I have no detailed statistics, but the general impression is that in the early faith mission days, despite the example of the founders, the majority of the missionaries was happy with their infant baptism.

¹⁰² Even Svenska Alliansmissionen, which in Sweden even today allows the baptism of infants, in South Africa does not recognize the validity of infant baptism for Africans (Int. NN, Svenska Alliansmissionen 16.6.1986).

¹⁰³ The comparative is deliberately chosen here. To hold believers' baptism to be better does not exclude holding infant baptism as good.

same way as those missionaries who opted for personal rebaptism were expected to do it among themselves or back home.¹⁰⁴

The fact that though in the faith mission churches there usually was only believers' baptism, and that the missionaries were allowed not to teach differently but to believe and act differently, is obviously a lack in theological logic. How could they baptize believers never having been baptized in this way? But that was and is a strength in faith mission theology: to keep together what is mutually exclusive.

Though the faith missions in Africa generally opted for believers' baptism, there were also cases where they opted for infant baptism. When the AIM from North East Zaire started missionary work in the West Nile Province in Northern Uganda, this was done with the full consent of the CMS and the agreement that the church there should be part of the Anglican Church of Uganda. Therefore, missionary work in West Nile Province was done by Anglican AIM missionaries, for whom the practice of infant baptism was unquestioned.¹⁰⁵

When WEC after its crisis in 1931 decided under the leadership of Norman P. Grubb to expand widely into unreached areas of West Africa,¹⁰⁶ missionary work was started in December 1933 in Spanish Guinea (today together with Fernando Po part of Equatorial Guinea).¹⁰⁷ Dora and Alec Thorne were gladly received by the McNeills, representatives of the up to now only Protestant mission (Southern Presbyterians, USA) in the colony.¹⁰⁸ As they

¹⁰⁴ One of the very first cases of such a private rebaptism: Peterson, one of the early SMF missionaries in Zaire, baptized his wife and a younger missionary secretly, 'lest the blacks might get the news and be caused to quarrel about baptism' AMZ 23(1896), 435.

¹⁰⁵ Dobson, *Daybreak in West Nile* 5.

¹⁰⁶ Norman Grubb, *After C.T. Studd* 64.

¹⁰⁷ Norman Grubb, *Penetrating Faith in Spanish Guinea*, Colchester ³1941(1937); *After C.T. Studd* 63-76.

¹⁰⁸ Robert Munn, *These Forty Years. A testimony of God's faithfulness during forty years of active missionary service, published by the author*, 1981, 98. The French edition is: Robert Munn, *Quarante ans d'aventure avec Dieu. Un témoignage de la fidélité de Dieu pendant quarante ans dans la mission*, Valence 1985.

worked in the north, the Thornes and a few more WEC missionaries established a Protestant church in the south among the Okak in the area of Akurenan.¹⁰⁹ They did not join their church to the Presbyterian Church, but conformed to it in introducing infant baptism.¹¹⁰ After independence the government integrated the Iglesia Evangélica Cruzada in 1970 into the Iglesia Reformada de Guinea Ecuatorial. But as a minority with quite a different piety and hardly a share in its leadership they do not feel happy in that church.¹¹¹ After the reign of terror under Macias Nguema had come to an end in 1979, the church contacted WEC again, and today there are again some missionaries working in that church.¹¹²

As in SUM, unique among the faith missions, there are interdenominational and denominational branches, the decisions on baptism were largely taken along these lines. With one exception, the denominational branches opted for infant baptism. The Danish (1912) and the Norwegian branch (1922) were right from the start de facto Lutheran. Proper denominational branches were the Evangelical United Brethren Branch (1926),¹¹³ the only denominational branch which opted, contrary to practice in America, for believers' baptism,¹¹⁴ Christian Reformed Church Branch (1940), and

¹⁰⁹ November 1934 Lizzie Smith (Ma Lui), Aberdeen; Juni 1935 Emma Munn, Belfast. Both had finished Emmanuel Bible School, Birkenhead (Grubb, *Penetrating Faith* 21, 31). For some time also Emma Munns brother Robert (Munn, *Quarante ans d'aventure avec Dieu* 101ff).

¹¹⁰ This explanation is based on WEC oral tradition only, not on primary sources. For the first baptism see: Grubb, *Penetrating Faith in Spanish Guinea* 40-43.

¹¹¹ Because of their more limited training they have no chance to influence top level decisions. But even the (better educated) Methodists (ca. 5%) are not content. Three couples will finish training at the CMA Bible school in June 1988 (Dietrich Kuhl - Fiedler 25.4. and 19.5.1988).

¹¹² Int. Alastair M. Kennedy 10.1.1987; Dietrich Kuhl - Fiedler 19.5.1988; *Praying Always*.

¹¹³ Geoffrey Dearsley - Fiedler 13.1.1988. Since 1968 the Evangelical United Brethren Branch is the United Methodist Branch, because in the USA the Evangelical United Brethren Church joined United Methodist Church.

¹¹⁴ Geoffrey Dearsley - Fiedler 13.1.1988.

Netherland Reformed Congregations Branch (1974).¹¹⁵ The South African Branch was started in 1906 as an interdenominational branch. Baptism was no issue than since nobody wanted to be baptized then. In 1911 SUM-RSA started work among the Tiv.¹¹⁶ Soon after the Dutch Reformed Church demanded a field of its own, where it could keep full ecclesiastical control.¹¹⁷ In 1914 the RSA branch suggested to reserve the whole Tiv area for the Reformed missionaries of the branch. The non-Reformed SUM-RSA missionaries were to work elsewhere with SUM.¹¹⁸ This proposal was accepted,¹¹⁹ but that did not keep the DRC in SUM for long. In 1916 the Reformed missionaries left the SUM,¹²⁰ in 1917 Salatu and Zaki Biam were officially handed over to the Dutch Reformed Church Mission.¹²¹ In 1950, due to staffing problems, the DRC Mission handed missionary work in parts of the Tiv area over to the Christian Reformed Church branch. In 1961, for political and other reasons, the DRC Mission handed the whole area over, which thus returned to SUM, but that implied no change in the practice of baptism.¹²²

While the missionaries individually had a choice between believers' baptism and infant baptism, this choice did not exist for Africans. For them, according to geography, the missionaries had decided. An AIM Christian in West Nile had to bring his children to church to be baptized, if he lived a couple of miles further west across the border in Zaire, exactly that he was not to do.

¹¹⁵ "Stichting voor de Zending der Gereformeerde Gemeenten" of the "Gereformeerde Gemeenten in Nederland en Noord-America" (A. van der Vegt - Fiedler 14.9.1988).

¹¹⁶ For history see: Eugene Rubingh, *Sons of Tiv. A Study of the Rise of the Church Among the Tiv of Central Nigeria*, Grand Rapids 1969.

¹¹⁷ Min. SUM 21.5.1913.

¹¹⁸ Min. SUM General Purpose Committee 9.1914.

¹¹⁹ Min. SUM 10.6.1914.

¹²⁰ "We can only submit sorrowfully" (Min. 13.1.1916).

¹²¹ Min. SUM 19.6.1917.

¹²² Rubingh, *Sons of Tiv* 127-129.

There is today one faith mission church, which accepts both modes of baptism: COCIN [SUM-GB] in Nigeria. The reason is historical. In 1907 the Cambridge Missionary Party (affiliated to CMS)¹²³ started to work among the Sura and Anga on the Eastern Jos Plateau.¹²⁴ In 1930 the CMS handed this its easternmost area in Northern Nigeria over to the SUM, which was the predominant mission there.¹²⁵ Then it was decided to continue for the stations of Panyam and Kabwir with infant baptism. Panyam stuck to that decision, Kabwir later conformed to the rest of the church and adopted believers' baptism.¹²⁶ But even in Panyam parents can opt for not having their children baptized. The number who so decide is increasing. Mobility has grown enormously since 1930, so that many Christians from Panyam and Kabwir now live elsewhere in the COCIN area. The COCIN General Church Council therefore decided that in urban congregations the pastor should, on request of the parents, also baptize infants.¹²⁷ In schools baptisms and confirmations may be conducted in the same service.¹²⁸ Christians from a church with infant baptism, who join COCIN, can do so by undergoing confirmation. This applies even to Catholics, but they may also opt for believers' baptism. The possibility of believers' baptism is, on special request, also extended to COCIN Christians baptized in Panyam as infants, who move into other COCIN areas.¹²⁹

¹²³ The information given in E.A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914*, London 1966, 142 that the Cambridge University Mission Party later became SUM, is wrong. The SUM started 1904 in Wase, not the CUMP.

¹²⁴ Eugene Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, Band 4, London 1916, 72. 1907 wurde die Station Panyam errichtet, 1910 Kabwir. The most important missionary in this work was Elsie Webster ("Nakam"), who changed to SUM in 1930 (Tett, *Road to Freedom* 102-103).

¹²⁵ Min. SUM 24.6.1930.

¹²⁶ Int. Rev. Joel Gukas, Chairman of Panyam RCC of COCIN 3.2.1987.

¹²⁷ Int. Rev. Luther D. Cishak, President of COCIN 3.2.1987.

¹²⁸ Int. Rev. Joel Gukas 3.2.1987.

¹²⁹ Int. Rev. Luther D. Cishak 3.2.1987.

Baptism in the Faith Mission Churches

For the very first converts baptism usually was a daring step in faith into the unknown, and in the Muslim areas it is this still today. But in most parts of Africa south of the Sahara it gradually became less difficult to take the step, and in quite some areas it soon did not only become socially acceptable to become a Christian, but almost required socially. "One has to have a religion" is a common saying, and the word "religion" does not include African Traditional Religion.¹³⁰

In faith mission theology a clear profession of faith, usually expressed in conversion,¹³¹ was considered as the only precondition for baptism. In Africa secondary preconditions were soon added. Quite early on period of testing or probation was introduced to avoid "baptizing the spurious convert." Pre-baptism instruction about the faith was also considered to be necessary in Africa, and so the faith missions followed the example of the classical missions to start enquirer's classes. These lasted usually two years, but sometimes one year was considered to be sufficient. This meant that baptismal instruction became the required precondition for baptism. Conversion, so central to faith mission theology, was in turn considered as a pre-condition for baptismal instruction. But as conversion in a society where it is socially more or less required is easy to claim and difficult to check, baptism in a large measure depended just on the successful completion of the course.

To follow a two years' course faithfully was quite an achievement, especially for those who had to walk a distance to the place of instruction. But the result was that baptism was no longer the sacrament of grace at the start of the Christian life, but a sacrament of reward for good conduct (learning included), granted after quite some time in the Christian life.

¹³⁰ The East African version is: "Lazima kuwa na dini."

¹³¹ The outward sign of conversion often was the burning or exposure of one's cult objects. For a typical example see: Munn, *Quarante ans d'aventure avec Dieu*, 144-149.

Other secondary conditions were often added, too, learning to read often being prominent among them.¹³² The theological reason for this was the Protestant principle of "sola scriptura." If the scriptures are the definite revelation of God's will for mankind, every Christian should have direct access to them. So baptism classes were often reading classes, too. In many African languages "reader" and "Christian" became synonyms,¹³³ supported by the fact that many of the converts were younger or older pupils of the mission's schools. But though everybody should learn to read, it was clear that some would not manage, so everywhere exceptions were made for those too old or otherwise unable to learn to read.¹³⁴ All this helped to enhance the notion that Christianity was something to be learned, an idea very different from the conversion theology of the faith missions.

Another secondary precondition of baptism was soon added: monogamy. The problem was that the polygamous also experienced conversion.¹³⁵ But of the many faith missions which allowed baptism of polygamous men in their early days, almost all retracted. For women most missions tended not to see polygamy as a hindrance to baptism, choosing to ignore the fact that usually a woman entered into a polygamous union with her full consent. For men the compromise with polygamy was differently arranged: Polygamous men were simply excused from baptism. The genuineness of their conversion (and that's what makes a Christian) was not doubted,¹³⁶ but they would

¹³² In CECA20 this requirement is even laid down in the Constitution ya CECA20, but there is room for exceptions in specific cases.

¹³³ Among the Kikuyu [AIC] *athomi* means reader as well as Christian.

¹³⁴ The requirements for baptism in the World Gospel Mission in Burundi were therefore: Conversion, participation in the life of the congregation for at least a year, the faith becoming visible in daily life, financial contributions to the church and the attempt to learn to read (Donald Hohensee, *Church Growth in Burundi*, Pasadena 1977, 48).

¹³⁵ *For a study of the issue in Northern Malawi and for a theology that demands the baptism of genuinely converted polygamists, see Moses Mlenga, *Polygamy in Northern Malawi. A Christian Reassessment*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2016.

¹³⁶ In Guinea Bissau it happened repeatedly that polygamous men started congregations. As there was no one else, they were the leaders of the meetings. They

only be baptized when through their own efforts or through circumstances beyond their control the number of wives had been reduced to one. Here again baptism has become a reward for success in Christian living, an aim to aspire to, not a divine gift being granted to start the Christian life with.¹³⁷

These secondary preconditions to baptism and the possibility even to dispense with them, were somehow, though more or less subconsciously, congruent with the faith missions' low estimation of baptism.¹³⁸ This may also have contributed to the fact that in a number of faith missions only a fraction of all believers are baptized, the percentage being sometimes as low as 10% of the regular attenders at Sunday worship, and this in spite of the fact that maybe 70% see themselves and are seen as converted.¹³⁹ The explanation given is usually "improper marital status" and/or "insufficient break with heathenism." This is only part of an answer. It must also be seen that in these churches the necessity of baptism is usually little proclaimed. It is quite common that converts, even after many years, still wait until maybe the local evangelist tells them that he considers them now to be mature enough for baptism.¹⁴⁰ This delay of baptism gives it in theory a very high value, in practice a very low one.¹⁴¹

could not understand that after non-polygamous men became available, they were debarred from leading services (Int. NNN).

¹³⁷ Altogether today's faith missionaries are quite unhappy with this compromise, but attempts to make baptism available to polygamous converts are usually strongly resisted by the African church leaders.

¹³⁸ This is my judgment from observed practice, in theory the missionaries would have a high view of baptism.

¹³⁹ This applies for large areas in CECCA16 as much as for the WEC related churches in West Africa (Report African Consultation in Vavoua 30.11.-16.12.1985).

¹⁴⁰ Int. Annette Botting (WEC/CECCA16) 14.1.1987. CECCA16 Lubutu Parish (1986) counts 1120 baptized Christians and 3493 unbaptized Christians, children not included (Rapport Statistique Paroisse de Lubutu 1986).

¹⁴¹ Missionaries these days often deplore the long period where the church tests that the believer's life shows he or she believes (Margaret White - Fiedler 22.2.1993).

In most areas of Africa south of the Sahara neither African Traditional Religion nor Islam are seen as viable alternatives to Christianity, and baptism is the sacrament of initiation into Christianity. So many want to join baptismal instruction "just to get themselves a religion," and since in most faith mission churches infants are not baptized, the children or youths have to get themselves through the initiation process (baptism) to become adults. Thus, many profess conversion at the appropriate time in order to be admitted to baptismal instruction and not to reach baptism too late.¹⁴² Thus baptism is no longer the consequence of conversion and a personal commitment to Christ, but the successful conclusion of a social initiation rite. This often applies to adults, too.¹⁴³

Almost everywhere in Africa the age of initiation is declining, irrespective if traditional, Muslim or Christian. This also applies to the Christian initiation of believers' baptism in the faith mission churches.

According to general missionary conviction, adults and youths could be baptized, also older children, if they were considered to be old enough to understand the faith and to understand the lifelong time perspective of the decision. The earliest age for this was never defined, but 12 years can be regarded as the average.

In Africa the missionaries tended even to regard 12 years as a bit early for baptism. Meanwhile in many churches it is quite fashionable to become converted at the age of ten so as to achieve baptism by the age of twelve. When asked about the minimum age for believers' baptism, church leaders almost always replied: twelve. This assumes conversion at the age of 10.¹⁴⁴ When I interviewed less official church members, it became clear that almost everywhere children are baptized much younger and that their

¹⁴² "I teach a baptismal class myself in my Nairobi congregation where I am an elder. One child was converted before, one is still unconverted, one was converted in my class etc ... If baptized children are converted depends largely on the teacher. Some teach just as teaching" (Int. Joseph NN 10.12.1986).

¹⁴³ It is often assumed that 40% do not lead a Christian life after baptism (Int. Rév. Masangura Mbafefe-Mussamba 3.1.1987).

¹⁴⁴ In the Kikuyu area of AIC children begin baptismal instruction even at six (Int. Joseph NN 10.12.1986).

number is increasing.¹⁴⁵ Often parents take their children to be registered for baptismal instruction.¹⁴⁶ Occasionally baptisms at the tender age of 6 or 7 are reported.¹⁴⁷

Among ethnic groups like the Nandi and the Kipsigi where the age of initiation is still higher than elsewhere, the minimum age of baptism also tends to be higher.¹⁴⁸ This applies also to the more recent areas of a church, like the western sections of the AIC. Since in various parts of East and Central Africa even six-year olds undergo initiation (into adult life!) it is to be expected that the minimum age for believers' baptism will lower itself further.

In addition, in most churches there is a tendency to reduce the period of pre-baptismal instruction, sometimes to one year, or even to 6 months. This tendency was often enhanced by the fact that Pentecostal churches usually baptize faster, sometimes much faster. And since some Pentecostal churches work in the areas of faith mission churches, these are an attractive alternative for those who "want to get themselves a religion" a bit more easily.

In East Africa not only the trend to lower the age of initiation can be clearly discerned, but also the trend to shorten the period of initiation. Again, this

¹⁴⁵ For ex. Int. Rév. Masangura Mbafefe-Mussamba 3.1.1987; Int. Richard Adkins (WGM) 17.12.1986; Int. Alice und Henry Ndolo (AIC) 28.12.1986; Int. Henk Shoemaker (AIM/CECA20) 5.1.1987; Int. Samuel Schweizer (Communauté Cooperation Évangélique au Zaïre) 28.1.1987; Int. Ursula Röthenmund (Communauté Évangélique du Kwango) 26.1.1987; Int. with six representatives of CECA16 11.1.1987. Alastair M. Kennedy reports that in December 1986, contrary to earlier practice, seven and eight year olds were baptized. In the younger WEC related churches in Africa this process has not [yet?] taken place (Int. Alastair M. Kennedy 10.1.1987).

¹⁴⁶ Int. Rév. Kasali Yeiye, Rév. Bakwanamaha Mutsungu, Rév. Njialese Makambi, Pasteur Munyighulu Kambashu 3.1.1987 (Oicha, CECA20).

¹⁴⁷ Int. Henk Shoemaker 5.1.1987; Ursula Röthenmund - Fiedler 14.10.1991.

¹⁴⁸ But in these ethnic groups also the age of initiation is going down (Int. Bill Reinheld 16.10.1986).

applies to all three religions.¹⁴⁹ In former times initiation, especially for boys, lasted often several months, nowadays it fits everywhere into the school holidays.¹⁵⁰ This may also exert pressure on a reduction in length for baptismal instruction.

All these developments have brought about a phenomenon which, according to faith mission theology, should not exist: conversions after baptism.¹⁵¹ Sometimes these "late" conversion take place within the framework of the church, with the converts appropriating personally and existentially what they had learned previously.¹⁵² But quite often such conversions occur under the influence of other churches or movements. So it happens that young AIC members are converted in meetings held by a Charismatic evangelist¹⁵³ or organized by a DIGUNA team.¹⁵⁴ Often such conversions find a positive echo in the church, sometimes they are rejected,

¹⁴⁹ For the Muslim Zaramo around Daressalam compare: Anna von Waldow, Mwali Custom: Uzaramo Transformation, ca. 1935 [later published in: *Afrika und Übersee* 1961 "Mädchenerziehung bei den Zaramo" 292-306] with: Marja-Liisa Swantz, *Ritual and Symbol in Transitional Zaramo Society*, Gleerup 1970, 363-393.

¹⁵⁰ *That is at least the design. For cases of attempt and problems see: Macduff Kapito, *The Impact of Yao Traditional Initiation Teachings on Women: A Case Study of Traditional Authority Malemia, Zomba District, BA*, Mzuzu University, 2010; Edward Jeffrey, *The Impact of Jando Initiation on its Initiates in the Area of Kasamba Village in Nkhotakota, BA*, Mzuzu University, 2012.

¹⁵¹ Alice Ndolo is typical (Int. 29.12.1986): "I wanted to be a good girl and please my mother, and more than anything else I wanted a real name. I wanted the name Alice. So I professed conversion and was admitted to baptismal instruction."

¹⁵² From the Evangelical Teacher Training College in Vryheid, Natal, started in 1948 by TEAM and five other missions, it is reported: "Though entering students were always supposedly Christians, many dated their conversion from their time there" (Sheetz, *The Sovereign Hand* 160).

¹⁵³ This was the case for both Alice and Henry Ndolo, who remained in the AIC and today serve their church as Bible School Teacher and Pastor respectively (Int. Alice and Henry Ndolo 29.12.1987).

¹⁵⁴ DIGUNA is a predominantly German mission, which evangelizes within AIC/CECA20 and beyond in Kenya and Zaire, mainly through team efforts with lorries.

because, as baptism presupposes conversion, there cannot be conversion after baptism. So such late converts are forced out of AIC into other churches, often of a Charismatic character. This was the case with Silas Owiti, who had applied for baptism because everybody in his boarding school did so. When he was converted through contact with a Pentecostal group, his local evangelist was very happy, but not the evangelist's superior, who demanded he either keep quiet or leave the church. He then became founder and presently Bishop of the Voice of Salvation and Healing Church.¹⁵⁵

In almost all faith mission churches only ordained or licensed ministers are allowed to baptize.¹⁵⁶ This, combined with the fact that the local minister (evangelist/teacher) is usually not ordained, makes for another exaltation of the sacrament of baptism, which the faith missions never intended but definitely helped to bring about: For conversion as well as baptismal instruction, the local unordained minister is good enough, but not for the holy ritual of baptism. This supports the tendency to see baptism not just as the outward sign of the inward process of conversion, but as the real thing, far superior to conversion.

The faith missionaries had started their work in Africa with the firm conviction that it was conversion/faith (and that only) that made a Christian. For them conversion was the necessary mark of the church (*nota ecclesiae*), not baptism. In the faith mission churches this is changing or has already changed. Very often baptism, irrespective of faith and conversion, has become de facto the mark of the church.¹⁵⁷ In theory baptism still is believers' baptism, conversion is the necessary precondition; in practice, though, very often just regular attendance at baptismal instruction is sufficient. This and the tendency to see baptism as a reward have produced in the faith

¹⁵⁵ Int. Silas Owiti 16.12.1986.

¹⁵⁶ For a missionary to baptize, usually no ordination was required, but the same missionary required it from Africans.

¹⁵⁷ The tendency to see baptism instead of conversion as *nota ecclesiae*, can be seen from the following episode: Due to a burial the two pastors of Oicha congregation were not at home on 2.1.1987. An AIM lady missionary asked if the deceased had been a Christian. The answer was: "Not a Christian, only a believer." The missionary: "Why then was he not a Christian?" Answer: "He was not baptized."

mission churches a very different concept of baptism from that which their missionary founders had brought to Africa. But this obvious change of emphasis from "subjective" conversion to "objective" baptism did not come about in opposition to the missionaries but as a continuation of the process that they themselves had initiated, though many missionaries may feel today that the churches have carried that process too far.

Changing Concepts of Communion

If the changes in the concept of baptism brought faith mission practice closer to that of the classical churches, this applied to the process of change in the concepts of communion to a lesser degree. But here again, though many missionaries may claim that changes have gone too far, this process of change they themselves have initiated.

The Faith Missions' Concept of Communion

As with baptism, the faith missions took communion for granted and being interdenominational, they did not interfere with the churches over their doctrines and practice of communion, accepting them all, as different as they were. This they could only do because they did not accord that much importance to the sacrament. Fellowship and Christian service were more important for the early faith missionaries.

In Europe and America communion was often "relegated" to the established churches,¹⁵⁸ but this they could not do in Africa because there they had to be the church establishment themselves.

¹⁵⁸ This was typical of the fellowship movements, especially on the European Continent. They had their own meetings, their own leadership, their organization as "*ecclesiola in ecclesia*." But they did not usually administer the sacraments, leaving that to the established churches, though they were often quite critical of these churches, counting many of their pastors not even as converted, therefore not as Christians.

In early missionary work the administration of communion was not tied to ordination, but to being a missionary, usually a male one.¹⁵⁹ The policy of the SUM was different. Only ordained men were to administer communion.¹⁶⁰ But as even in the SUM the majority of male missionaries were not ordained, communion was also administered by them, which came to be criticized in some Anglican circles.¹⁶¹ So it was then made the practice to licence certain missionaries for administering the sacraments.¹⁶²

For the missionaries conversion/faith was the precondition for participation in communion, baptism did not suffice. But then could people participate who were converted but not baptized? In general, this possibility was excluded, though two exceptions are to be recorded. The Emmanuel Mission working in what was then Spanish Morocco admitted unbaptized believers to communion,¹⁶³ whereas the neighbouring NAM did not adhere to this practice. The Emmanuel Mission gave as reason that for many believers in that Muslim country baptism was a difficult proposition not to be pressed for by the missionaries.¹⁶⁴ For similar reasons church leaders of and missionaries in WEC related churches in Africa generally agreed that a believing woman, whose husband hindered her to be baptized, could indeed participate in communion and hold office in the congregation.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁹ Typical for this process is the missionary work started by the Africa Evangelistic Band in Booke/Zaire in 1936. The AEB did not start churches in South Africa, and its "pilgrims" are not ordained. But already in 1933 it was decided that they would administer the sacraments in Zaire (Peckham, *The Africa Evangelistic Band* 62).

¹⁶⁰ SUM Constitution 1912.

¹⁶¹ Min. SUM 17.4.1917.

¹⁶² A typical minute runs: "Permission was given to Mr. David Wilmshurst to administer the sacraments at Gindiri [School] for the usual period of one year" (Min. SUM 23.9.1954).

¹⁶³ Int. Mrs. NN, former Emmanuel missionary in Morocco 10.10.1985.

¹⁶⁴ The NAM missionaries shared this conviction but did not draw the same conclusion.

¹⁶⁵ WEC African Consultation Vavoua 30.11.-16.12.1985.

Communion in the Faith Mission Churches

The faith mission churches did not develop any theology of communion of their own as different from that of their missionaries.¹⁶⁶ But dramatic changes did take place in the practice of communion, effectively depriving, at least in the larger churches, the majority of all members of the sacrament.¹⁶⁷ In the AIC parish Machakos Bomana in Kenya communion could take place quite regularly. The parish has 5 pastors and 16 places where services are held. If every pastor would celebrate each Sunday communion at a different place, every congregation could, as the AIC rules prescribe, celebrate communion once a month.¹⁶⁸ In the western areas of the AIC in Kenya communion is celebrated much less frequently.¹⁶⁹ In many small congregations communion is celebrated only once a year, and sometimes even this is missed.¹⁷⁰ Even more extreme is the situation in the neighbouring Africa Gospel Church. According to their tradition communion should be celebrated only quarterly, nevertheless the about ten ordained ministers, mostly very old, cannot provide this to a church so widely spread with so poor means of transport.¹⁷¹ The GAC missionary work in West Pokot

¹⁶⁶ The majority of the missionaries held broadly Calvinistic views about communion, except in the clearly denominational branches of faith missions like AIM-Uganda (Anglican) or SUM-DK (Lutheran) or in strict Holiness Missions (Arminian).

¹⁶⁷ In the smaller (and younger) branches this is not [yet?] the case. In the Église Protestante Évangélique in Burkina Faso [WEC] for ex. a large majority of the baptized shares in communion (Int. Rév. Jean Kambou 13.1.1987, Int. Alastair M. Kennedy 10.1.1987).

¹⁶⁸ Int. Pastor Henry Ndolo 28.12.1986.

¹⁶⁹ Int. NNN.

¹⁷⁰ Int. NN 20.12.1987: "In Malindi communion is celebrated about three times a year, in other congregations never."

¹⁷¹ "Functionally Africa Gospel Church is a non-sacramental organization" (Int. Bill Reinheld 16.12.1986).

has never had a resident ordained minister.¹⁷² In practice communion is of hardly any importance for AIC and GAC.¹⁷³

In Zaire the situation is similar, though less extreme. But even in the small Communauté Évangélique du Kwango, where communion is to be celebrated monthly,¹⁷⁴ there are many village congregations with a celebration of communion at a festival at best.¹⁷⁵ Things are made more difficult by the fact that for communion people feel there must be bread,¹⁷⁶ but that is not available.¹⁷⁷ In many of the smaller congregations of CECCA16 communion is not celebrated for the whole year.¹⁷⁸

In Nigeria in COCIN [SUM-GB] communion is to be celebrated monthly, but this rule is adhered to only in the central churches.¹⁷⁹ In ECWA it is similar.

¹⁷² In spite of more than ten years' successful missionary work by Edward Tonui (Int. Bill Reinheld 16.12.1986).

¹⁷³ "Communion seems to have no importance" (Int. Mrs Naudé 16.12.1987); Int. NNN.

¹⁷⁴ Int. Rév. Mwadi Mbubika and Rév. Nyanga wa Mandamba 27.1.1987.

¹⁷⁵ Int. Sr. Ursula Röthenmund 26.1.1987. Even elsewhere monthly communion is often the ideal but not the practice (Röthenmund - Fiedler 16.10.1991).

¹⁷⁶ The faith missionaries in several cases tried to replace the "European" elements in communion by "African" elements. But usually the Christians prefer to celebrate communion in the "right" way with bread and wine (or grape juice). In the recently founded NTM congregation at Chowo the missionary used during the first communion service a local red juice, but for the next communion service the local Christians insisted on them buying proper grape juice (Int. John Mikitson 27.7.86).

¹⁷⁷ Int. Sr. Ursula Röthenmund 26.1.1987.

¹⁷⁸ Int. Alastair M. Kennedy 10.1.1987. The idea is that monthly communion is celebrated at some agreed upon place in the congregation, where everyone should go, but since CECCA16 is widespread, often great distances are involved. In the Ibambi area the central church's congregation will often go to a "communion meeting" at some agreed out church, to encourage the Christians there (Margaret White - Fiedler 22.2.1993).

¹⁷⁹ Int. Rev. Luther Cishak 6.2.1987.

Even where there are ordained pastors, communion is not often celebrated.¹⁸⁰ No theological reasons are made available.

This practice of the rare celebrations of communion has brought about a two-class system: In the "parish churches" communion is celebrated comparatively often. But the more out of the way a congregation is, the less important the sacrament becomes. The low appreciation of the sacrament is not only shown by that it is celebrated rarely, but also by the fact that, if it is celebrated indeed, only few participate. In the AIC about 5-10% of church attenders remain for communion to be celebrated.¹⁸¹ In COCIN (Nigeria) the percentage is similar,¹⁸² in CECA20 (Zaire) the percentage is higher, but declining.¹⁸³

For this state of affairs there are at least three reasons: (1) Church discipline. Obvious sins like drunkenness, adultery, theft and others exclude from communion.¹⁸⁴ (2) Then there is an almost magical fear of the sacrament, which makes many not to participate though there is no real hindrance in faith or conduct.¹⁸⁵ This fear basis itself on 1 Cor 11:29: "For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body."¹⁸⁶ (3) In many cases ecclesiastical laws prevent many from participating in communion. In the AIC Tana District anyone married must have been married in church in order to be permitted to share

¹⁸⁰ Edmund T. Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*, London ³1979 (1975), 169.

¹⁸¹ Int. Jonathan Hildebrand 14.12.1986; Int. NNN.

¹⁸² Int. Eileen Owers 6.2.1987.

¹⁸³ From the Communauté Episcopale Évangélique au Zaire [UFM] 25% participation (tendency falling) is reported (Int. Donald Muchmore 30.12.1986). For CECA20 the picture seems to be similar.

¹⁸⁴ "Ulevi, uasherati, wizi, magomvi, matukano, aishiye namna ili anajitenga mwenyewe" (Int. Rév. Kasali Yeiye, Rév. Bakwanamaha Mutsungu, Rév. Njialese Makambi, Pasteur Munyighulu Kambashu 3.1.1987, Oicha, CECA20). This is generally the case.

¹⁸⁵ Int. Sr. Ursula Röthenmund 26.1.1987; Int. Pastor Samson Kozi Maliwa 20.12.1986, Int. NNN.

¹⁸⁶ Int. Henry Ndolo 28.12.1987.

in communion. But at the same time there is no ordained pastor in the district, and the licensed pastors are not allowed by their church to conduct marriages.¹⁸⁷ That so few members participate in communion is proof for that fact that the churches put little value on this sacrament.

While neglecting the sacrament in practice, a high theoretical value is assigned to communion by pegging it to ordination. Faith mission theology would have left other options, had the missionaries opted for them.¹⁸⁸ But not only by pegging communion to ordination was it made rare, but even more so by limiting the number of ordained men to a small fraction of those who actually are pastors. Thus, communion has become the means to define the powers of the leading élite over against the clerus minor, and over the laity, too.

Today's practice of communion is far from how the early missionaries had imagined it should be. But one thing their practice and today's practice have in common: In both cases communion is not important. The early missionaries "relegated" communion to the established churches, the faith mission churches relegate communion to an élite minority: The élite pastors are to distribute it, a small élite laity is to receive it. Communion has become an ecclesiastical status symbol and is no longer the joyous celebration of the forgiveness of sins and fellowship with Christ and all who belong to him. The developments over two or three generations have led to baptism becoming more and more easily accessible and access to communion ever more difficult.

Church-Wedding, the Highest Sacrament?

How many sacraments are there? The faith missionaries were quite clear: two, baptism and communion. This is by no means as clear in the faith mission churches today. Upon enquiry, very often three or four sacraments were named: Always baptism and communion, very often marriage,

¹⁸⁷ Int. Pastor Samson Kozi Maliwa 20.12.1986. Pastor Maliwa has been ordained on 25.1.1990, so the number of church weddings has increased (Kozi Maliwa - Fiedler 27.1.1993).

¹⁸⁸ From CEBK55 [UAM/CBFMS] it is reported that elders may celebrate communion (Int. Rév. Paluku Kinyoma 19.1.1987).

sometimes dedication of children. This increase in the number of sacraments was facilitated by the fact that the faith missions rarely taught what a sacrament was, often even did not use the term, just speaking of baptism and communion or the Lord's table.¹⁸⁹ Not being taught to define a sacrament, the people had to trust their own judgment. To them sacraments were solemn rites of the church to which one has to be admitted first and which, after being admitted to them, grant a certain status. According to this yardstick, (church-)marriage is distinctly the highest sacrament. It is far more solemn than baptism and more difficult to attain than communion, as its preconditions are not only baptism and the right to share in the Lord's table but also the fulfillment of all civil requirements for a marriage, including the payment of the required bride price¹⁹⁰ or at least a large part of it.¹⁹¹

It is not easy to fulfill the civil requirements for a church wedding. But to obtain one is being made even more difficult by a general increase in the size and the cost of the feast.¹⁹² Not only excellent food is required, but also

¹⁸⁹ In some languages there is not even a word "sacrament," for example in Kipsigi (Int. Bill Reinheld 16.12.1986), or Yaka [Kwango] (Int. Sr. Ursula Röthenmund 26.1.1986), or in the languages of the Berean Mission (Int. Kathy and Thomas Lindquist 20.1.1987).

¹⁹⁰ In terms of social anthropology, "bride-wealth" would perhaps be more correct. But aren't the prices ever rising and isn't bride-wealth usually converted into cash payments?

¹⁹¹ *Klaus Fiedler, "For the Sake of Christian Marriage, Abolish Church Weddings", in: *Religion in Malawi*, 1995, 22-27. Reprinted in Klaus Fiedler, *Conflicted Power in Malawian Christianity: Essays Missionary and Evangelical from Malawi*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2015, 6-21. Revised and updated version in *Evangelical Review of Theology*, 2017, 41:4, 355-368

¹⁹² As for the solemnity of the rite, the missionaries set the example. Here is one from the early Congo Balolo Mission: "Christmas Eve - dawned a glorious summer day - for the wedding of Mr. Fred Gardner and Miss Elizabeth Henson. Preparations began in early morning. The native boys themselves decorated the church most beautifully. After the official State ceremony in French at Basankusu, the Bride and Bridegroom returned to the prettily decorated church at Ikan. Here in Lomongo, English and Lingala an impressive service was conducted by Mr. F. Antice before a

the bridal dress and the bridegroom's suit, and, according to the solemnity required, special clothes for the bridesmaids, best men, parents and relatives, and maybe transport for all the guests.¹⁹³ In North Eastern Zaire such a church wedding easily costs a quarter or more of the bride price of eight cows, so that 1-2 years' work are required just to finance the event.¹⁹⁴ In Kenya the situation is similar, very few can afford a church wedding, but for those who can afford it, it is a major status symbol.

This development has become possible by the early introduction of the church wedding into the African church and at the same time assuming and ignoring customary laws on marriage. Customary law was assumed in that the civil preconditions for a marriage were accepted (especially the full payment of the bride price), it was ignored by making the church ceremony not to bless an existing marriage, but by making it the wedding itself. The matter was further complicated by the naive transfer of Western customs: The bridal veil, bridesmaids, special dresses and suits etc. Africans usually do not object to cultural mixtures, and it was not this mixture which caused today's problems, but two processes of social change: The one the ever-rising bride-price, the other the ever-growing stratification of African society. The rising bride-price made it for almost all Africans impossible to

large congregation. Much interest was aroused amongst the natives when the bridegroom endowed his bride with 'all his worldly goods.' The happy couple left the church amid scenes of rejoicing. A reception was given at Mr. and Mrs Anstice's house later in the day. After four days the bride and bridegroom returned to Bongandanga. We wish them every blessing in their service for the King" (*Congo Mission News/Nouvelles Missionnaires du Congo* No 98).

¹⁹³ *In Malawi the costs have increased by the general attitude that a "bridal shower" is necessary one or two weeks before the wedding. The bridal shower is in many ways conducted like a wedding reception. For those who want to include the groom also into the teaching, the bridal shower becomes a "marriage send-off." For the teaching at such showers see: Towera Mwase, *The Marriage Instructions for Girls and Women in Mzuzu Churches*, MA, Mzuzu University, 2012.

¹⁹⁴ David Langford, *Areas of Pastoral Concern - Marriage* (unpublished) 1985, 8. Others estimate that only a year is needed (Int. Donald Muchmore 30.12.1986).

pay the full price before marriage,¹⁹⁵ the growing stratification makes it possible for a small group to celebrate ever more elaborate weddings.¹⁹⁶

Another problem is due to that fact that the churches demanded that the civil requirements for a wedding be fulfilled, but do not take into account that these civil requirements change. Because of the tremendous bride price in many areas (for example Northeast Zaire and Kenya), "marriage by eloping" has become the rule. The churches do not accept this as a form of civil marriage, but as concubinage, to be punished by excommunication. But "marriage by eloping" these days is a thoroughly acceptable form of civil marriage: The young man finds his bride by using the traditional go-betweens, then he talks to her (bride-price included), she takes her time to make inquiries about the suitor, and when she finally agrees, an evening is fixed for her "eloping" from home. She is duly received with all honour by the bride-groom's family, sometimes some good food is served, too. The start to live together. Immediately the bride's family is informed, so that a date for the bride-price negotiations can be fixed.¹⁹⁷

Many years ago, the church-wedding was the norm, today it is a rare event. In Kisangani Congregation [formerly UMF] there has not been a church wedding for 10 years,¹⁹⁸ in the northern CECA20 territory there are

¹⁹⁵ The bride's parents and elders also are normally not interested in full payment before marriage, because that would drastically reduce the older generation's control over the younger. — *Sometimes it may just be custom. When I married Rachel NyaGondwe, a (patrilineal) Tumbuka, in 2001, I had to pay 60% of the cows (in cash), the 40% to be paid on request. No such request has reached my go-between within 16 years, and we are not controlled by the elder generation either.

¹⁹⁶ Just to see the wedding-report pages in Kenyan newspapers is sufficient to realize what social status a church wedding conveys or what social status makes a church wedding a necessity.

¹⁹⁷ Described in detail in: David Langford, *Areas of Pastoral Concern - Marriage 6*. Langford describes the situation among the Hema in Northeastern Zaire (CECA20 [AIM]). But in very many areas of East Africa the situation is basically the same.

¹⁹⁸ Meanwhile even a legend helps to legitimize the neglect of church weddings: Many years ago, there was a church wedding, and the bride ran away from her

practically none.¹⁹⁹ In the southern area around Oicha there are church weddings (about 50%), but the frequency is declining.²⁰⁰ In the AIC Tana River District hardly any church weddings occur,²⁰¹ the same is true for the GAC mission field in West Pokot during half a generation of missionary work there. One of the two Pokot evangelists there was dismissed because he had married in the traditional way.²⁰² Within the AIC only church marriages are considered as marriages, all other forms of marriage exclude from the sacraments²⁰³ and from church leadership.²⁰⁴ In CECCA16 the number of church weddings is low, too.²⁰⁵

It goes without saying that in the teaching of the faith mission churches there is no connection whatsoever between the church wedding and the (expensive) feast. But folk church practice seems to allow for no other option. To solve the problems described up to now to abolish the church wedding altogether seems to me the only viable alternative.²⁰⁶ Marriage not

husband that very night. Since then no church wedding ever took place, it was regarded as a bad omen for the success of a marriage (Int. Hilde Moro 5.1.1987).

¹⁹⁹ David Langford, Areas of Pastoral Concern - Marriage 8; Int. Rev. Ang'apoza Etsea Kila 30.12.1986.

²⁰⁰ Int. Rév. Musangura Mbafele-Mussamba 3.1.1987.

²⁰¹ Int. Rév. Kasali Yeiye, Rév. Bakwanamaha Mutsungu, Rév. Njialese Makambi, Pasteur Munyighulu Kambashu 3.1.1987, Oicha, CECA20.

²⁰² Int. Henry Ng'eno 18.12.1986.

²⁰³ In Tana District even a government registered civil marriage is not accepted as a valid marriage (Int. Pastor Samson Kozi Maliwa 20.12.1986).

²⁰⁴ So it happened in West Kenya that an experienced Sunday school leader could not be made a church elder since he had not been married in church (Int. Jonathan Hildebrand 14.12.1986).

²⁰⁵ The president of the Église Protestante Évangélique de Burkina Faso commented: "Here the poor cannot marry" (Int. Rév. Jean Kambou 13.1.1987).

²⁰⁶ *Using these observations I wrote one of my first articles in Malawi: "For the Sake of Christian Marriage, Abolish Church Weddings!" in James L. Cox (ed), *Rites of Passage in Contemporary Africa. Interaction between Christian and African Traditional Religions*, Cardiff: Cardiff Academic Press, 1998, 46-60. This was reprinted with comments after two decades in Klaus Fiedler, *Conflicted Power in*

being a sacrament for Protestants, no church wedding is required, any type of civil marriage is a valid marriage.

One way to implement this might be along the lines of the "marriage prayer" (*malombi ya marriage*) practised in CECA20 and some other churches.²⁰⁷ It is usually applied to couples who "eloped," but who want, after having settled their marriage with the families concerned, return into the full fellowship of their church.²⁰⁸ For this "marriage prayer" the pastor visits the couple, reads the relevant scripture passages to them and prays for them.²⁰⁹ Then usually some food is served. In theological terms, such a blessing of a marriage contains everything required, and the cost factor is negligible. But the fact that this "marriage prayer" may only take place in the house, not in the church, shows that it is second class. And it will remain second class as long as "real" marriages are celebrated in church, as infrequently as that may be.

As much as communion was "relegated" to the few who can achieve that prize as a reward for their Christian efforts and good behaviour, so marriage, the highest sacrament,²¹⁰ has been "relegated" to the few who can afford it, or who have to afford it, for civil or religious reasons.²¹¹

Malawian Christianity. Essays Missionary and Evangelical from Malawi, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2015, 6-21.

²⁰⁷ La Constitution de la CECA.

²⁰⁸ David Langford, *Areas of Pastoral Concern - Marriage* 10.

²⁰⁹ Ibid. 8; Constitution ya CECA [20].

²¹⁰ In the Lutheran Church on the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro it is similar: The more experienced evangelists were accorded the right, als "Wainjilisti wa Sinodi," to administer the sacraments. But only an ordained minister may conduct a wedding (Int. Kristosia Materu 27.7.1972). The same applied to Moody, who in his North Market Mission conducted all rites, except weddings (William R. Moody, *D.L. Moody*, New York 1930, 99).

²¹¹ Even in CECCA16, where church wedding is no precondition for participation in communion, applicants to the Institut Supérieur Théologique de Bunia must have it. In the Communauté Évangélique Beréenne au Zaïre a government registered marriage is sufficient (Int. Kathy und Thomas Lindquist 20.1.1987).

Chapter 12: A Vision Taken Up: African Faith Missions

Within about a century Africa south of the Sahara has changed its religion and become a Christian continent. The enormous evangelistic effort that was required for this process of change was initiated by European and American missionaries, but the biggest amount of work was done by Africans, be it through informal witness to their new found faith, or be it in part time or full time service of the emerging church as teachers, evangelists or (later) as pastors.¹ In this aspect the work of the faith missions differed little from that of the classical missions,² except in that the early classical missions, who had started their work already well before the scramble for Africa with its ensuing feelings of European superiority, gave Africans a greater chance to work independently³ and/or to become ordained.⁴

¹ The life of far too few of them has been described in booklets like: The African pioneer in the work of QIM in Nigeria: Gracie Bill, *David Ekong. Called. Chosen. Faithful. The Story of the First Convert and Pastor of the Qua Iboe Mission* nd; Burnette und Gerald Fish/Richard Adkins, *The Call to Battle*, Kericho 1982 [Johana Ng'etich, AGC]; Samuel Hussein Ali, *Aus meinem Leben*, Wiesbaden 1920 [SPM]; Peter Mualuko Kisulu, *A Missionary Called Peter*, Kijabe 1983.

² The role of Africans, mainly Ganda, in the spread of Christianity in Uganda, is thoroughly described in: Louise Pirouet, *Black Evangelists. The Spread of Christianity in Uganda 1891-1914*, London 1978. See also: A.D. Tom Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church. African Participation in Church Growth and Expansion in Busoga 1891-1940*, Nairobi 1980. (*I chose to become a mission and church historian because of Louise Pirouet teaching Ugandan Church History at Makerere University).

³ In 1896 Apolo Kivebulaya started from Toro (Uganda), at great personal risk and sacrifice, missionary work in the independent Mboga, which later developed into the first francophone Anglican diocese (now Boga, Northeastern Zaire) See Pirouet, *Black Evangelists*, esp. 50-58. Cf. A. Luck, *African Saint: The Story of Apolo Kivebulaya*, London 1963.

⁴ E.A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914*, London 1966, esp. 1-154. The story of Bishop Crowther dramatically shows the change of attitude after 1885.

Though the faith mission churches grow often so fast that how to cope with the ever-increasing numbers is a major problem, they usually lack missionary vision. One mission leader formulated it drastically: "Regions Beyond Missionary Union has founded a church which does not look beyond."⁵ The faith missions, who had criticized so severely the churches in their home countries for their lack of missionary vision,⁶ produced churches which lacked exactly that. The missionaries assumed in Africa the role of the established church and did not create structures that were critical to it, as mission societies usually are. Or if they are not, they still compete with the established church for its often meagre resources. True, the resources were often strained even to reach the immediate neighbourhood, but faith missions believed in the effectiveness of prayer, and mission prayer meetings would have cost very little in money and personell.

The missions introduced a clear dichotomy: Mission is the foreigners' affair; the church is for the "natives." Mission theology supported this: The mission is the scaffolding of the church, and after the church has been established, the scaffolding is to be dismantled and to be used elsewhere. But the scaffolding usually remained much longer than originally envisaged, and the missionary vision was often not passed on to the "young" churches.

This process was enhanced by the indigenous church principle, which assigned a limited territory to each church, and to pass its borders was a transgression. Since all the country was divided up by comity agreements, missionary work would have meant to work abroad, but the churches could not afford that, and the indigenous church principle, as applied by the faith missions, meant that "white" money could not be used for black missionaries.

⁵ Int. Geoffrey Larcombe 5.10.1985. In this the early comity agreements and the colonial mindset played a role, but also the geography of the Equateur forest and that the first CBM Bible school was only established in the 1930s (Larcombe - Fiedler 7.4.1993).

⁶ Int. Geoffrey Larcombe 5.10.1985. In this the early comity agreements and the colonial mindset played a role, but also the geography of the Equateur forest and that the first CBM Bible school was only established in the 1930s (Larcombe - Fiedler 7.4.1993).

In spite of these theological and structural inhibitions there were some missionary efforts already in the 1930s. An example is the QIM. When they started a new field in Igala, four evangelists from the Qua Iboe River area shared in the effort,⁷ and when George Curry started to work in Bassa, a teacher from the same area was his first assistant.⁸ A (rare) example for African missionary work, without European involvement, but still crossing colonial borders, was the effort of WEC Christians from Equatorial Guinea to establish a church in Coco Beach in Gabon. This church still exists today.⁹

There could be mentioned more cases, which could be either classified as spontaneous expansion of the church or as missionary work. A more recent case, where the missionary motive was conscious, but no organizational structure involved, is the case of Evaristo and his wife, Papel from Guinea Bissau, who emigrated into the Casamance District of Senegal. There they established a small congregation and built a little church. They speak Balanta well, and when the Balanta expelled most Papel immigrants from that area, nobody did any harm to Evaristo and his wife. As in Guinea Bissau, they feel to be part of the Église Évangélique [WEC].¹⁰ Another couple from Guinea Bissau, Chico and Nang Dasilva, was converted in Senegal, and in a dream, they were called to go to Gambia. They settled at Sibanor, and after WEC had established a mission there, joined their efforts and are now playing a leading role in the small Gambia Evangelical Church.¹¹

But these examples—and more could be added—are not typical for the general attitude of the faith mission churches. Conscious missionary efforts were very rare between the wars, but later things began to change in a number of churches. Today the impression is being created in Western publications that there is a tremendous number of "third world missionaries" or "two thirds world missionaries." These impressions go back to the

⁷ Qua Iboe Mission annual report 1933.

⁸ Qua Iboe Mission annual report 1936.

⁹ Leslie Brierley - Fiedler 29.10.1987.

¹⁰ Int. Frank Lyttleton 28.7.1986.

¹¹ Circular letter Maria Röbbelen 2.5.1972.

researches of Lawrence E. Keyes,¹² and are sometimes published less critical than even Keyes saw them.¹³ The number of these missionaries is given worldwide as 15000 or 20000.¹⁴ A new research even counts 14,989 African "trans-cultural missionaries" alone.¹⁵ To be able to evaluate Keyes' statistics properly, the three missionaries and 50,000 members of the Holy Trinity Church should be moved to group 2. The three missionaries are most probably those who care for the few congregations in North Mara in Tanzania. Having done this, group two has 350,000 members and 38 missionaries. This looks realistic. - In group 1 then there are 32,573 members and 779 missionaries. This extremely high missionary density (42 members to a missionary) is not due to the eager missionary spirit of the African Independent Churches but to misconstructured and misunderstood questionnaires (responses printed in full in: Keyes. - Keyes assumes that he has not discovered all the Kenyan missions. In this he is at least in so far correct as he did not discover the dozen or so of Africa Gospel Church missionaries. To account for undiscovered missionaries, he extrapolates the 827^[16] he found to 1002. Thus, he finds in Kenya 13% of the 13,000 transcultural third world missionaries. - *But of these about 80-90% exist only in the questionnaires and in the researcher's imagination.*

¹² Lawrence E. Keyes, *The Last Age of Missions. A Study of Third World Missionary Societies*, Pasadena 1983.

¹³ For ex. in: Larry D. Pate with Lawrence E. Keyes, "Emerging Missions and the Global Church" in: *East Asia's Millions* 1988, 82.87.

¹⁴ These figures are derived from Keyes' 13000 missionaries in 1980, his projection of 15249 for 1981 and on some extrapolation for future growth. Half of these missionaries would be Africans. For 1972 he computed 2971 "cross-cultural third world missionaries" (Keyes, *The Last Age of Missions* 64. Not to be overlooked is his critical assessment of the questionnaires received from Kenya and Nigeria with their high figures, *which he still incorporates in his totals.)

¹⁵ Larry D. Pate, *From Every People. A Handbook of Two-Thirds World Missions*, Monrovia CA 1989, 47.

¹⁶ I can only get as far as 817.

<i>A Critical Analysis of the Kenyan missions claimed by Keyes</i>	Year		Year	Missio- naries	Mem- bers
African Independent Churches¹					
African Gospel Unity Church ²	1972	52	1980	130	1,500
Covenant Baptist ³	1972	4	1980	4	?
The Ethiopian Orthodox Holy Spirit and United Churches of East Africa ⁴			1980	100	?
Holy Spirit Church in Africa ⁵			1980	200	3,000
Holy Trinity Church in Africa ⁶			1980	3	50,000
Independent Lutheran Church			1980	2	1,000
Lost Israelites of Kenya ⁷			1980	28	20,000
Musanda Holy Ghost Church	1972	235	1980	350	5,073
<i>Organized missionary societies or church mission departments</i>					
AIC Church Mission Board			1980	28	300,000
Fellowship of Spreading Good News (AIC)	1972	3	1980	8	?

¹ Membership according to WCE (Mid-1970s).

² Separated in 1964 from African Gospel Church with about 10% of the membership. (David Barrett et al., *Kenya Churches Handbook*, Kisumu 1973, 230). It has not experienced major growth since then (WCE: 1500 members). My visit in the area confirmed this information.

³ Neither mentioned in *Kenya Churches Handbook* nor in WCE.

⁴ Founded in 1927, 3000 members (WCE).

⁵ Founded in 1960 as a split off from Church of Christ in Africa. Masogo diocese has 16 pastorates. There are also congregations in the area of Mombasa and in North Mara, Tanzania. 50000 members (WCE).

⁶ Founded in 1960 in Kitale, 20,000 members (WCE), partly in West Uganda, with very little cultural differences.

⁷ Originated in a revival within CMS, forced into separation in 1934. 1939 new splits, later more. Slow growth. 5073 members (WCE).

Keyes' and Pate's approach has two serious shortcomings. One has been described above: The data base is not solid, too many data stemming from questionnaires which were not understood correctly by those who filled them in. The other shortcoming is their definition of transcultural. Culture is identified by language, which is quite all right for Japan, Germany and Rwanda, just to name a few cases, but I think no one can claim that Tanzania has about 126 different cultures, just because there are as many "tribes" with as many languages spoken, immigrants not being counted. If any African church worker working in a different language area of his own would be counted as a "trans-cultural third world missionary," then Keyes' and Pate's statistics are by tens of thousands short.⁸

Keyes is right when he claims that a missionary must not necessarily cross national boundaries, even crossing cultural boundaries is a missionary affair. But these cultural barriers must be high enough to warrant the term "missionary": If for example a Kenyan missionary from a (southern) agricultural people like the Luo moves to a cattle keeping people in the north, the culture shock may be as intense as for a European who goes to work among the Luo.⁹ Similarly there are major cultural frontiers within Nigeria. Another aspect which may help to define, who is a missionary, is missionary consciousness: If someone belongs to a mission organization, defines himself as a missionary or, though he does not do that, obviously does such a work. Therefore, I offer, in order to clarify matters and bring statistics closer to reality, this definition: "A missionary is someone doing primarily evangelistic or pastoral work in another country, or in an area of his or her own country, which in terms of culture and/or religion is distinctly different from his or her own background and who conceives himself or herself as a missionary, or, if not doing so, obviously does such a work."

⁸ Klaus Fiedler, "Wo sind die 20 000? - Eine kritische Analyse von Lawrence E. Keyes' Konzept der "transkulturellen Drittweltmissionare" und der ihm zugrundeliegenden Daten" in: *Evangelikale Missiologie* 3/1989, 37-40.

⁹ That was definitely my experience when I travelled to Marsabit in Northern Kenya in the company of students from the Eldoret Missionary Training College in December 1986.

Even though Keyes' statistics are mostly wrong, he is right in claiming that missions from the "third world" are a major phenomenon that will shape church history. In current classical missiology, the aimed for end result of missionary work is equal partnership with the now independent church, sharing in mission, and maybe, the "young" church will even send a missionary as a fellow worker into the area of the "old" church.¹⁰ The emergence of missions from the former mission fields has brought, at least among the faith missions, a new final aim: The end result is not just the church, but again missions.¹¹ If in the early years mission was sometimes considered to be a one way road, and if more recent classical missiology has stressed that mission is a "two way road," most recent faith mission missiology would see mission as domino without end: One domino always makes another fall, and sometimes two, and so the domino line will split and the many lines will finally cover all the world.

In the area which I have studied in Africa there are three types of missions, and of each type I'll describe some: (1) Mission activities without special organization. What is being done is done by the ordinary organs of the church. (2) Denominational missions or mission departments. (3) Inter-denominational missions.

Now and again faith mission churches send out missionaries as co-workers into other churches, often into a sister church originating from the same mission. CECA20 has repeatedly seconded pastors to work with the AIM in Southern Sudan, and the various branches of the SUM did not only exchange missionaries but also African evangelists and teachers. The Holiness Union in South Africa, going back to the Swedish Helgelseför-

¹⁰ Kambala Mangolopa, one such missionary, coming from a church that was originally founded by a faith mission, is now [1987] working in Dortmund in connection with the Vereinigte Evangelische Mission. He comes from the Communauté Baptistes du Kivu (CBK3) which has its roots in the Unevangelized Africa Mission.

¹¹ These differentiations have been applied in Veronika Elbers: *Der Beitrag evangelischer Missionare aus Indonesien zur Weltmission*, Evangelical Theological Faculty Leuven, 1995. Some Indonesian faith missionaries were found working in Africa, especially with WEC in Gambia.

bundet, started on the suggestion of Mokwena, a driver in a mine, missionary work in Bochum/Transvaal.¹² Occasionally missionaries are even sent to other continents like Bounda Mabiala and his wife, who were sent by the Église Évangélique du Congo [SMF] to Ecuador in 1980.¹³ All these activities, important as they individually may be, do not influence much the missionary vision of the churches concerned.

Africa Gospel Church - Missionary Department¹⁴

If the missionary activities are a regular department of a church, they usually receive more consideration. This is the case with the Africa Gospel Church. Its missionary department is small, 12 missionaries in 1988, but clearly an entity of its own within the church structure.¹⁵ It was organized in 1970, but its origins go back to about 1967, when Fredrik Makibior, a Kipsigi, who grew up at the border to Maasai territory, was willing to start missionary work in Naikarra among the Maasai. He learned Maasai well, and later his wife Raeli, too, and they overcame their traditional aversion against the Maasai, who, for the neighbouring Kipsigi, were those who "stole their cattle and their women." The Makibiors built up the mission including school and polyclinic and established a congregation. For the first six years they worked together with an American missionary. Since then they do the work alone, with assistants from the GAC. Their work is successful, and now there is 30 km away a second branch. A self-help Harambee Secondary School is being planned.¹⁶

In West Pokot right from the beginning there were no white missionaries involved. The work was begun on the suggestion of George Kendagor, a Pokot member of the AIC, who was not happy that his church did not work

¹² Int. Håkan Wistrand 13.6.1986.

¹³ Hilaire Nkounkou et al, *75e Anniversaire de la Fondation de Madzia* 27; Int. Riitta Siikannen 10.6.1986. They had to return after a severe accident in Jan. 1983.

¹⁴ *www.aickenya.org/departments/?ContentID=03.

¹⁵ Larry Pate, *From Every People* 233.

¹⁶ Int. Richard Adkins 17.12.1986.

in West Pokot.¹⁷ In the early phase there was some instability, but since 1969 work is going on steadily. Today the GAC Mission in the Chepnyal area has 10 churches and 15 schools. During the 1984/85 famine, up to 4000 families were cared for.¹⁸ The GAC calls its workers in Maasai and West Pokot missionaries. The missionary work is supervised by a committee of the church, but the inspiration for the missionary work mainly comes from the Kenya Highlands Bible College and the missionaries teaching there.¹⁹

Africa Inland Church Missionary Board (IAMB)

Much more important relative to its church is the IAMB. It is not a mission independent of its church, but it has an organization of its own and thus competes in some way with other structures in the church. It was founded in 1959 as a joint effort between AIC (then with only limited independence) and AIM.²⁰ The first areas of activity were to be Southern Sudan and Turkana in Northern Kenya, both areas in which the AIM was also active.²¹ Political developments then did not allow IAMB to work in Sudan, and in 1960 Peter Kisulu and his wife started to work in Turkana, at first together with Dr. Anderson, then independently in Kalokol at the shores of Lake Turkana ("Lake Rudolph"). Peter Kisulu started a number of churches and schools,²² shared in relief work and started a successful fishing cooperative

¹⁷ In the area of Chepnyal the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society had evangelized a little bit, but they were glad that the AGC was willing to work there intensively (Int. Richard Adkins 17.12.1986).

¹⁸ Important missionaries are Edward und Evaline Tonui (Int. Richard Adkins 17.12.1986). There is yet only one Pokot evangelist, Paul Loboti (Int. Henry N'geno 18.12.1986).

¹⁹ The moderator of the AGC is at the same time responsible for the missionary department. This means that there are no competing structures and authorities.

²⁰ Peter Mualuko Kisulu, *A Missionary Called Peter*, Kijabe 1983, 15.

²¹ Tom Collins, AIM pioneer in East Pokot, had tried to win an entry into Turkana by evangelistic visits (K.N. Phillips, *Tom Collins of Kenya. Son of Valour*, London 1965, 101ff, see also 70). The first missionary allowed to settle in Turkana was Dick Anderson, a medical doctor, in 1959.

²² Raymond H. Davis, *A Study of the AIC among Kenya's Turkana People*, MA Fuller, Pasadena 1978, 65. Cf. Kisulu, *A Missionary Called Peter* 20.

in Kalokol,²³ and both his wife and himself learnt to eat fish.²⁴ In 1978 Peter Kasulu became assistant coordinator of the IAMB.²⁵ This post he left, when his original plan, to work as a missionary in (South) Sudan, became possible.²⁶

IAMB work among the Giriama not far from the Kenya coast, was very successful, too. Though the Giriama were not Muslim, the first missionary, Rev. Mutandia, a Kamba, in the beginning found very few open doors.²⁷ When the response became much better, AICMB money was insufficient. In 1974 Bishop Mulwa (AIC) therefore asked the Christian Nationals Evangelism Commission (CNEC) for help, which he received for 10 missionaries.²⁸ The work among the Giriama today is a separate district of the AIC, the Kilaifi District.²⁹ Turkana is also a district of its own.

At present about 40 missionaries are fully supported by the AICMB, about the same number is supported by District Church Councils³⁰ or occasionally even by a Local Church Council.³¹ The missionary work of the AIC is mainly

²³ Kisulu, *A Missionary Called Peter* 24. He began his missionary work in Turkana in a period of severe social change caused by population growth, draught periods and external influences.

²⁴ Kisulu, *A Missionary Called Peter* 22.

²⁵ Ibid. 26. Coordinator was Michael Donovan.

²⁶ See: Kisulu, *A Missionary Called Peter* 27 for his intention to work in Sudan. CNEC Partners Prayer Guide 1985-1986, 51f describes his work among the Toposa, working there as a AICMB missionary, but being supported by Christian Nationals Evangelism Commission [Partners International].

²⁷ The first breakthrough occurred in Mashahini village. He had been invited there, because he had lent 60 Kshs to a woman, who had come to Malindi for a difficult delivery (Int. Jonathan Hildebrand 14.12.1986).

²⁸ Allen Finley; Lorry Lutz, *The Family Tie*, Nashville/Camden/New York 1983 (1981), 44f. CNEC assisted AICMB through 1991.

²⁹ Int. Jonathan Hildebrand 14.12.1986; Int. Christian Friedrich 20.12.1986.

³⁰ Int. Rev. Samson Bet, President of AICMB, 14.12.1986.

³¹ Int. Rev. Samson Bet 14.12.1986. Bet approves of direct involvement of local congregations very much. AIC Machakos congregation for ex. paid for the first church building among the Giriama (Int. Jonathan Hildebrand 14.12.1986). The AIC

financed by two collections on first Sundays of a month.³² The AICMB missionaries work mainly in the border areas of Kenya,³³ which are quite distinct in culture from the core area of the AIC (Kamba, Kikuyu) and where the AICMB, sometimes in cooperation with the AIM, does pioneer work. The recently begun work in the Kakamega District cannot be counted as pioneer work. The AIM had refused to work there since too many missions were already active in that district.³⁴

A special case, but not at all unique in the process of growing religious pluralism in East Africa, is the AICMB missionary work in Eastern Uganda, where, without any input from AIC, AIM or AICMB an African Independent Church with about 40 congregations had formed itself. Because of an understanding between what used to be AIM and CMS, that the AIM would work in Uganda only in unreached territory (West Nile Province)³⁵ and only as part of the [Anglican] Church of Uganda, the AIC was reluctant to do anything in Eastern Uganda but accepted a young man from that church into one of its bible schools. Meanwhile the leader had been able to procure Uganda government recognition under the name "Africa Inland Church." After some time, the Church of Uganda freed the AIC from the old

Eldoret women's group several times travelled to Pokot to help there (Int. Mrs Limo 14.12.1986).

³² That first Sundays (with larger offerings than other Sundays) were chosen shows the importance accorded to the AICMB (Int. Rev. Samson Bet 14.12.1986).

³³ Turkana, Wajir, Isiolo, Marsabit, Lungalunga [near the border to Tanzania], Masai, Malindi, Shimba Hills [south of Mombasa], West Pokot (Int. Rev. Samson Bet 14.12.1986). Two AICMB missionaries work in the AIC Tana District who have founded two of its 18 congregations (Int. Pastor Samson Kozi Maliwa, 20.12.1986).

³⁴ The work in Kakamega is part of two developments: (1) Among the "territorial churches" everywhere in East Africa there is a tendency to establish congregations outside its original territory. (2) The area of Kakamega shows an extreme religious pluralism with a proliferation of so called African Independent Churches. To ask for an AIC effort in that area is part of that proliferation.—*For a clear description of an Evangelical mission church expanding beyond its original "territories" see Stefan Höschele, *Christian Remnant – African Folk Church. Seventh-Day Adventism in Tanzania, 1903-1980*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007, 167-200, 504ff.

³⁵ It started there in 1918 (John Dobson, *Daybreak in West Nile*, London, nd.)

understanding with AIM, since the Church of Uganda realized that it could exert no influence whatsoever on the Africa Inland Church Uganda.³⁶ This process of a newly found African Independent Church asking a neighbouring mission or church for help, is quite frequent and contributes measurably to the process of religious diversification in Africa.³⁷

The AICMB experiences the same problems as other missions did and do. In the early years the missionary intentions were sometimes larger than the means available, so that now and then the missionaries did not receive their allowances.³⁸ Today the missionaries receive their stipends regularly, whereas pastors sometimes run into problems.³⁹ The early AICMB missionaries were as unprepared to come to terms with a strange culture as were their AIM colleagues two generations before. They had trouble to accept Turkana and Maasai patterns of hygiene, and like their European predecessors they had problems accepting that nudity and goat skins were decent ways to dress.⁴⁰ The lack of sensitivity for the cultural differences between the pastoralist Northerners and the agriculturalist down country Kenyans has led to a church culturally dominated by missionaries, but this time not by white missionaries, but by Kenyan missionaries, who assume that the AIC in the whole country must have the same faith, rules, customs and usages.⁴¹

³⁶ Int. Jonathan Hildebrand 15.12.1986.

³⁷ *I consider religious diversification an important phenomenon deserving much academic study. My first published contribution was: "The Process of Religious Diversification in Malawi: A Reflection on Method and a First Attempt at a Synthesis", in: *Religion in Malawi*, no. 11, 2004, 18-24. (reprinted in Klaus Fiedler, *Conflicted Power in Malawian Christianity. Essays Missionary and Evangelical from Malawi*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2015, 178-193). Zeenah Sibande described and analyzed the religious diversity of Mzuzu City: Zeenah Sibande, *The Religious Geography of Mzuzu City in Northern Malawi*, MA, Mzuzu University, 2016.

³⁸ Cf. for ex. Peter Kisulu, *A Missionary Called Peter* 25.

³⁹ Int. Jonathan Hildebrand 14.12.1986.

⁴⁰ Peter Kisulu, *A Missionary Called Peter* 20f; Int. Jonathan Hildebrand, Eldoret, 14.12.1986.

⁴¹ In 1977 the Turkana District was led by two Turkana, four Whites and four "down-country" Kenyans. The white missionaries generally were more open to

When all missionaries come from the same country where they work, the issue of the independence of the young church is more difficult to settle: Missionaries from overseas know that at some point in time they have to hand the leadership of the church over to the "nationals," but are missionaries from the same country not "nationals"? This has led to severe tensions in Kilifi District between the "national" (Giriama) pastors and the "foreign" (Kamba) pastors,⁴² because the AIC had carefully thought through the issue of the euthanasia of mission regarding the AIM, but not regarding its own mission.

The Evangelical Missionary Society, Jos

Most probably the EMS in Nigeria, being the missionary arm of ECWA, is the largest African mission,⁴³ and its director, Rev. Panya Baba, is also known internationally.⁴⁴ Its origins date back to 1948, when two Nigerians (Basu-fwa and Dogo) and a SIM missionary (McElheran) tried to encourage Nige-

Turkana culture, for example their custom to drink the blood of their cattle. They also had more understanding for polygamy (Davis, A Study of the AIC among Kenya's Turkana People 77, 80ff; Int. Jonathan Hildebrand 14.12.1986). None of the "down-country" Kenyans preaches in Turkana, not even the Chairman of Turkana District Church Council who is married to Ana Maraka, the only Turkana woman ever to have been to a Bible school (81). Ana Maraka plays an important role in the church's women's work in Turkana. The basic attitude of the Kenyan missionaries is that AIC must be the same church in all of Kenya (Int. Malcolm Collins 10.12.1987).

⁴² For the period of one year the young Giriama pastors managed to gain the leadership from the old Kamba pastors (Int. Jonathan Hildebrand 14.12.1986; Int. Christian Friedrich 20.12.1986).

⁴³ Keyes, *The Last Age of Missions* 142 counts 1250 Church of the Lord 'Aladura', but Keyes himself questions (66) if they all fit to his definition of a "cross-cultural missionary." The same he applies to the Ghanaian Apostles Revelation Society (69) with its 569 missionaries. According to WCE it has 60,000 members.

⁴⁴ At present Panya Baba is also President of ECWA. See: Panya Baba, Arise and let us re-build ECWA. The address of ECWA President at the consultation meeting of the DCC chairmen and secretaries, October 25th-26th, 1988, Jos in: ECWA Today, No. 6, April 1989. -*DACB:Panya Dabo Baba.

rian congregations to send out Nigerian missionaries. In 1949 the SIM asked them to start the "African Missionary Society." In 1950 the first missionary was sent to Tsanyawa (Kano State) in Northern Nigeria.⁴⁵

Later the African Missionary Society was renamed Evangelical Missionary Society. As an organization it is older than ECWA.⁴⁶ In spite of its later integration into ECWA the EMS has retained its own administrative structures and its independence, because it administers its own money and has its own income. The mission has a central office with a clearly defined leadership,⁴⁷ and there is an EMS District Coordinator active in each of the 13 District Church Councils.⁴⁸ At the moment [end of 1987] the central office is being enlarged, and during the next years the number of EMS missionaries is expected to double to 900 - 1000.⁴⁹ EMS missionaries work in all parts of Nigeria, but the majority of its about 500 missionaries work in the North, outside the original SIM/ECWA area.⁵⁰ It is EMS strategy to reach first of all those "heathen" groups which have withstood the southward spread of Islam, partly by withdrawing into remote areas. The greatest "discovery" in this respect were the Maguzawa, about 5% (=500,000) of all Hausa speakers,⁵¹ who had "run away" from Islam, as their name says. In 1975

⁴⁵ N.N., *The Evangelical Missionary Society of the Evangelical Churches of West Africa*, Jos nd

⁴⁶ Organization of ECWA began in 1954. In 1956 it was registered officially (Ian M. Hay, *A Study of the Relationship Between SIM International and the Evangelical Missionary Society*, DMiss Trinity Deerfield 1984, 151).

⁴⁷ EMS headquarters are under the leadership of Panya Baba as director (his secretary is Ruth Cox, an American) and by the second in command, Pastor James Gabis (he studied two years at All Nations Christian College in Britain), "travel coordinator" is Samson Deba (1987).

⁴⁸ *ECWA Prayer Guide and Directory*, Jos 1985.

⁴⁹ EMS News 1987; James Gabis circular letter, end of 1986).

⁵⁰ According to April 1986 statistics EMS had 465 missionaries, of them at least 285 working in Northern Nigeria beyond the original ECWA/SIM area. – *The 2017 figure is about 1600.

⁵¹ Since the Maguzawa speak Hausa and live in different areas, they were recognized only late as a separate people-group. There were even a few mission

Gerald Swank conducted a survey commissioned by the Nigeria Evangelical Fellowship to find all unreached people groups, which were not more than 75% Islamized.⁵² This study made the EMS aware of the Maguzawa and of their readiness to change their religion. It became soon apparent that the envisaged 10 EMS missionary couples were far too few. Today 70 EMS couples work among the Maguzawa. As their readiness to become Christians was so unexpectedly great, many evangelists, especially bible school students just after finishing their course, worked for a year⁵³ or even for a shorter period among the Maguzawa.⁵⁴ But the EMS tries, even among the Maguzawa, to work only with long term missionaries.⁵⁵ Another emergency measure were three months' bible courses only for Maguzawa, taught by ECWA pastors.⁵⁶ Today [1987] about 500 Maguzawa attend full bible schools.⁵⁷

Besides working in the "pagan" withdrawal areas of the north (which absorbs the majority of the missionaries), EMS missionaries also do "diaspora work" in the south (about 20), in a few cases in "Catholic areas."⁵⁸

stations among them like Malumfashi (SIM/ECWA), later to become the center of EMS missionary work among the Maguzawa.

⁵² Published as: Gerald O. Swank, *Frontier Peoples of Central Nigeria and a Strategy for Outreach*, Pasadena 1977.

⁵³ For 1979 a further 52 couples were to work in this way (Rev. Panya Baba, Progress Report of Work Among the Maguzawa, Dec. 1978).

⁵⁴ Their employment had inflated statistics. The 1986 statistics contain only those missionaries who were to work at least three years for EMS. 3/4 of the EMS missionaries stay longer in EMS.

⁵⁵ Panya Baba, Evangelism Report L.O. Seminar Jos 16.-17.2.1982; Int. Rev. Panya Baba 3.2.1987.

⁵⁶ Panya Baba, Progress Report of Work Among the Maguzawa, Dec. 1978. 800 participated in Bible courses Jan. - March 1979 (Circular letter Panya Baba June 1979).

⁵⁷ EMS News 1987.

⁵⁸ For example, in Obudu, Cross River State (Rev. David Thomas, Report on my Missionary Journey to Obudu C.R.S, 1.10.1984). In 1987 the congregation was officially registered, but the officer refused the names EMS and ECWA as "unknown" and suggested to register it under the name ELWA church as their

An important—though in terms of numbers still small—aspect of EMS work is foreign missions. One couple works at Accra in Ghana and has established a Hausa diaspora congregation there.⁵⁹ In Niger the EMS cooperates with the SIM in the context of the Églises Évangéliques du Niger. Its most independent foreign missionary work EMS does in Chad, where 12 EMS missionaries work. In 1987 the Chad government officially recognized the EMS.⁶⁰ Most of the missionaries are Chad citizens, who had lived in Nigeria for many years, and most of them had worked as EMS missionaries in Nigeria, but had to leave Nigeria when the Chadian residents were expelled. The EMS intends to increase its foreign activities.⁶¹ The Nigerian currency regulations, restricting the transfer of money abroad, make this difficult.⁶² In the future the EMS also wants to include into its activities urban evangelism. For this purpose, James Gabis will go to the USA in September 1987 to study urban evangelism at Westminster Theological Seminary.

A comparison between the missionary work of ECWA and COCIN⁶³ suggests to the observer, that independent structures serve missionary purposes better than full integration into the structures of the church does: COCIN is half the size of ECWA,⁶⁴ both have their administrative offices in Jos three minutes walking distance away from each other and work in similar areas

preaching was so similar to that of Radio ELWA, the SIM radio station in Monrovia, Liberia. The missionary Sabo Kurah accepted the name suggested to him (EMS News 1987).

⁵⁹ Circular letter Evangelical Missionary Society, June 1979.

⁶⁰ The original application dated 1985 (Int. Rev. Panya Baba 4.2.1987; EMS News 1987).

⁶¹ Int. Panya Baba 4.2.1987.

⁶² Int. Alastair M. Kennedy 10.1.1987.

⁶³ COCIN: Churches of Christ in Nigeria, going back to SUM.

⁶⁴ According to WCE COCIN has 220,000 members, ECWA 500,000.—*COCIN is now translated as Churches of Christ in Nations (with churches in Nigeria, Benin, Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Malawi und the UK, www.cocin.org) with a membership "above 2,000,000 (wiki Church_of_Christ_in_Nigeria).—*ECWA now counts 2,500,000 adult members (www.ecwausa.org, accessed 16.11.2016). The old acronym now is translated as "Evangelical Church Winning All."

of the country,⁶⁵ but ECWA has ten times as many missionaries as COCIN.⁶⁶ COCIN missionary work is centered in Bornu State in North Eastern Nigeria. One missionary also worked as a teacher of theology in Sudan.⁶⁷ The COCIN missionary work is similar to that of the EMS.⁶⁸ Over the last decades the Qua Iboe Church has had little missionary consciousness but is now starting to develop a missionary vision.⁶⁹

To Awaken the Missionary Vision: Mission CECCA Zaire

Just as in the economically forward countries of Western Europe (Britain, Netherlands) the missionary spirit awoke first, so are Kenya and Nigeria in Africa ahead of other countries. Compared to Kenya, North East Zaire is equally evangelical, but extremely poor. It is astonishing that a church in such a situation tries to develop a missionary vision.

The origins go back to Kilcreggan in Scotland. Nonziodane Maronzi, Représentant Légal and leader of CECCA16, attended the worldwide WEC conference INTERCON I.⁷⁰ He came back with the question, why his church was not sending out any missionaries.⁷¹ Among the WEC missionaries in CECCA16, Margaret White, teacher at Ibambi Secondary School, took up the idea.⁷² At the General Assembly in 1983, Nonziodane got his church to

⁶⁵ ECWA was started by SIM in 1902, COCIN by SUM in 1904.

⁶⁶ Int. Wilbur O'Donovan 6.2.1987; Int. Rev. Petrobas S. Oashi 6.2.1987. The numbers are difficult to compare. Oashi counts 32 missionary couples, including those in Abuja, the country's new capital.

⁶⁷ Int. Rev. Petrobas S. Oashi 6.2.1987.

⁶⁸ See: Jean Hamilton, *A Stranger Came. An account of the missionary enterprise of the Church of Christ in Nigeria as told through the lives of some Nigerian missionaries*, Sidcup 1984.

⁶⁹ Int. Wilbur O'Donovan 6.2.1987. The missionary work in the Agenebode area on the western side of the Niger is now developing well (W.E. Leach - Fiedler 12.5.1993).

⁷⁰ WEC, International Leaders' Conference. Report and Resolutions 3-26 June 78, Gerrards Cross 1978.

⁷¹ Int. Rev. Nonziodane Maronzi 12.1.1986.

⁷² Later Douglas Craik also cooperated (Int. Annette Botting 12.1.1986).

decide in principle that it wanted to become a sending church.⁷³ After careful preparation the first missionaries were to be sent out in 1987.⁷⁴ In 1983 a mission committee was formed, and since then a regular two page missionary leaflet is being published.⁷⁵ Attempts were made to interest the congregations in missions, and for every area missionary representatives were selected. Every pastor, evangelist and catechist received the magazine, and everywhere mission prayer groups were formed. Money was collected for the first missionaries.⁷⁶ Mission information centered on the francophone countries where WEC was working.

It was not so easy to decide if the future missionaries of CECCA16 (or of Mission Mondiale, later renamed Mission CECCA Zaire [MCZ]) were to work for WEC or for CECCA16. The solution was that CECCA16 would send the missionaries through its missions department called Mission CECCA Zaire, that they would work initially in West Africa within the respective churches and that WEC would assist and advise.⁷⁷ Another issue to be solved was that of financial support. It was decided to accept money from abroad, but not actively to solicit such support.⁷⁸ In 1985 three couples applied to become missionaries. The couple Mbongo/Idoti was sent to Kisangani to gain experience in diaspora work, the couples Nefunga/Kanina and Kokyakake/Ebayite went through the candidate course, which Margaret White conducted at Ibambi in 1986.⁷⁹

⁷³ Min. Missionary Conference 9.-16.1.1983.

⁷⁴ 1983: Information, 1984: Information, prayer groups, collecting funds, 1985: Preparing to train missionaries, 1986: first candidate course, 1987: First missionaries to be sent out (Int. Rev. Nonziodane Maronzi 26.4.1984).

⁷⁵ In 1984 (Nr 4) 1600 copies were made: *Tazama* (Swahili) 800, *Botala* (Lingala) 600, *Regardez* (French) 200 (Min. Comité de la Mission CECCA Zaire 3.8.1984).

⁷⁶ 1984 - 1986: 42 165 Zaire. Twice this amount was contributed from abroad (Information shared at the meeting of the CECCA16 mission committee on 13.1.1987).

⁷⁷ Int. Annette Botting 14.1.1987; Int. Alastair M. Kennedy 10.1.1987.

⁷⁸ Min. Mission Mondiale [MCZ] 23.5.1983.

⁷⁹ *Tazama* No 11, April 1986.

Early in 1987 the CECCA16 general assembly decided to allocate some money towards sending missionaries.⁸⁰ CECCA16 appointed Sadeyna, who had worked in his spare time for the missions department before, to be its coordinator,⁸¹ working in both the health service and for Mission CECCA Zaire. Margaret White became assistant coordinator.⁸² The name of the mission had to be changed: As the name Mission Mondial sounded somewhat like "Conseil Mondial des Églises" (World Council of Churches) and misunderstandings had arisen, the name Mission CECCA Zaire (MCZ) was chosen.⁸³ Like other missions, there were problems in its early phase: Kokyakake, candidate for Chad, could not go there late in 1986,⁸⁴ and because of serious health problems Nefunga could not leave for the Ivory Coast.⁸⁵ All this meant delay, missionary motivation remained for a time the

⁸⁰ The Mission CECCA Zaire is responsible for its own finances. Nevertheless, the church as such contributes the same amount as it pays for the leader of the church.

⁸¹ Sadeyna had organized regular mission motivation seminars in and around Ibambi. As it was in early faith mission days he also reports conversions as a "side effect" of these activities (Int. Sadeyna 14.1.1987).

⁸² Lokanya Ntuafu (Lubutu), mission representative in the Southern area of the church, suggested to make Margaret White (at that time in Britain) the coordinator, as the constitution was designed in a way to demand a European as coordinator, and because to a European coordinator money from Europe would come. His argument was understood, but the general opinion prevailed, that a Zairois, enthusiastic for world missions, would be a better coordinator, and that money from Europe would come to Margaret White also if she would be only second coordinator (Meeting of Comité Mission Mondial 14.1.1987).

⁸³ Meeting of Comité Mission Mondial 14.1.1987.

⁸⁴ The small WEC team in Chad deemed the situation too difficult. Early in 1987 he was elected to lead the church as *Réprésentant légal* (*The Frontiersman* 2,1988,14). Renewed plans to go to Chad were blocked by the November 1991 disturbances. After having been freed from leadership responsibilities in 1993, a new attempt is planned for November 1993. (Margaret White - Fiedler 13.4.93).

⁸⁵ Margaret White - Ans van Wageningen 3.12.1987.

main activity of the mission, for which Margaret White gave up teaching.⁸⁶ Since the end of 1988 Nefunga/Kanina successfully work in Ivory Coast.

African Interdenominational Faith Missions

The second stage in the development of African missionary initiatives are the interdenominational faith missions,⁸⁷ whose number, contrary to Keyes' statistics, is still very limited.⁸⁸ But their number is growing. Three early West African faith missions may serve as examples.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Margaret White - Fiedler 17.10.1987. One result is that CECCA16 tries harder to reach the few small unreached people groups in its area (Tazama 16 and 17, July and Oct. 1987). Through Botala a pastor received the call to work in Iowa (Meeting of Comité Mission Mondial 14.1.1987).

⁸⁷ In Asia, too, interdenominational missions are the second stage. For one of the more important interdenominational Asian missions see: Esther Williams, *Sacrifice or Investment. Indian Evangelical Mission 1965-1985*, Bangalore 1985.

⁸⁸ Keyes counts 29 of his 77 African missions as interdenominational. With 22 of them he is obviously wrong as their names show (for ex. Church of Melchizedek; Musanda Holy Ghost Church; Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania, Department of Missions and Evangelism). AEF (South Africa) and Dorothea Mission (Zimbabwe) are branches of international faith missions, about the character of two missions I could not find out. This means that there remain 3 (possibly 5) interdenominational African missions: Souls Salvation Society (Egypt), African Enterprise (South Africa, in Kenya not mentioned) and Christian Outreach Fellowship (Ghana) with all in all 54 missionaries. Instead of 44%, only 4 or 6% of Keyes' African missions are interdenominational.

⁸⁹ An untypical interdenominational African mission is African Enterprise, founded in 1964 by white South Africans and black Kenyans. Its piety is close to that of the East African Revival, Bishop Festo Kivengere being one of its early leaders. It wants to testify that black and white Africans are one in Christ and do evangelistic team work, especially in urban situations. It also organized the Pan African Christian Leadership Assembly (PACLA) in Nairobi vom 9.-19.12.1976 (Michael Cassidy; Gottfried Osei-Mensah, *Together in one Place. The Story of PACLA*, Kisumu 1978; Michael Cassidy; Luc Verlinden, *Facing the New Challenges. The Message of PACLA*, Kisumu 1978).

During an "Easter house party" a number of young Ghanaians realized that many people in their country had never heard the Gospel and would stand little chance of hearing it before the year 2000, if missionary progress was not speeded up. Immediately the interdenominational Christian Outreach Fellowship (COF) was organized and in 1976 legally incorporated. But only in 1982 COF became really active. It is the aim of the COF to identify un-reached areas and villages in Ghana and to start missionary work there or to get other churches or missions to do so. Like the early classical missions, the COF is organized as a voluntary association. The basic units are the COF core groups.⁹⁰ Like the faith missions COF is interdenominational, controlled by a council,⁹¹ and follows the "faith principle" of financing. COF has offices in Accra and Kumasi, its director is William Ofori Atta.⁹² Its ten missionaries work in various areas of Ghana.⁹³

After finishing their university course Bayo Famunore and a few other young people from Southern Nigeria were sent for their national service to Soba, not far from Zaria. With the permission of the Emir of Zaria they evangelized in the town. They felt that Northern Nigeria was to be the area of their future missionary service. After finishing national service Bayo Famunore remained in Northern Nigeria working for NIFES (Nigeria Fellowship of Evangelical Students), and together with Amos Aderonmu, who later became the first full-time worker of the new organization, he started to build up CAPRO (Calvary Productions/Calvary Ministries)⁹⁴ with the aim to

⁹⁰ "As part of its strategy, COF seeks to establish a cadre of Core members all over Ghana who will place the affairs of COF among their highest priorities. These Core Members should gather in their own localities to form COF CORE GROUPS. These CORE GROUPS are to be responsible, self-motivating practically self-governing constituencies of COF."

⁹¹ Composed of representatives of leading denominations and organizations like SIM, WEC, Scripture Union, Maranatha Bible College, Christian Service College, Campus Crusade, Navigators.

⁹² COF - Fiedler 17.6.1987.

⁹³ Mentioned are: Chiana (Upper East Region), Klonu and Anfoe Mafi (Volta Region), Hebron and Mensah Krom (Rural Accra).

⁹⁴ Unless otherwise stated, all information based on: Int. Naomi Anne Famunore, Training Secretary of CAPRO, 5.2.1987.

evangelize among the unreached people groups in Nigeria and abroad. About a dozen missionaries now [1987] work among the Maguzawa, Mumuye, Gwari and Dukkawa.⁹⁵ Abroad CAPRO works in various countries, but has not yet established a mission field of its own, but in Senegal it has been officially recognized, being the first African mission there.⁹⁶ In addition CAPRO has set itself the task to develop a missionary vision among Nigerian Christians, mainly by means of "mission awareness seminars" and by visits to churches and groups.⁹⁷ "The mind of Nigerian Christians is foreign to missions, we think of Whites" (Naomi Famunore). The missions centre was at first at Soba, then in Zaria. Then it moved to Kafanchan, where the missionaries and candidates built their own buildings in simple style (now the "Discipleship Training School"). Next step was Jos, in rented premises. Induced by a prophetic utterance in a prayer meeting, that they should have a "mining compound," they inquired from the various mining companies and were welcomed into Gana Ropp Mining Compound (near Barkina Ladi/Jos), as this was no longer needed and their occupancy of it saved the mining company from further vandalism. Gana Ropp is now the center of the mission and houses its missionary training institute.

⁹⁵ Work among the Kanuri and Hausa (in Kaduna State) is planned. For more details on the people groups mentioned see: LOOK [Nigeria] Special Celebration '86 issue.

⁹⁶ Workers abroad up to now were: In Gambia (with WEC) Victoria Hasan [she works now (1987) among the Gwari in Nigeria (Occupy, Special Celebrations Edition 1986)] and Amos Aderonmu, two years each. Presently no one. Senegal: One couple, two young men. (Cf. Amos Aderonmu, Country Profile Senegal in: LOOK [Nigeria] I/1986,5). Guinea (in cooperation with WEC): two couples, since 1987 also Amos Aderonmu. North Cameroon: Independent work in the Mandara Mountains. Liberia: One women working for Scripture Union. Niger: Right from the beginning evangelistic efforts in connection with the Église Évangélique du Niger, but no resident missionaries.

⁹⁷ This activity has by now [1993] been extended to Ivory Coast. There CAPRO has created a mission agency (Action Missionnaire Intrafricaine [AMI]) and opened a School of Missions (Institut Intrafricaine de Formation Missionnaire) with six students.

Much in CAPRO is reminiscent of the early faith missions: Leaders, missionaries and students lead a kind of communal life in Gana Ropp, the churches and their structures are not being taken too seriously, a wide vision, lack of money and comfort, willingness to sacrifice and contagious enthusiasm. Another striking parallel: Women are equals. They receive the same training as the men, both sexes share in the manual jobs, a woman (Naomi Famunore) is CAPRO's training secretary, and single women can do independent evangelistic work, whereas in the earlier Nigerian missions only married couples are accepted.⁹⁸

Unusual is the sociological background: For CAPRO's missionaries university training is normal,⁹⁹ with EMS it's the rare exception.¹⁰⁰ The language of communication among the missionaries and of instruction at the training institute is English.¹⁰¹ Many of the students who work with CAPRO or keep contact to it, come from NIFES, and it is quite possible that the interdenominational character of CAPRO is patterned after NIFES, which has a charismatic spirituality similar to CAPRO and which does much to promote "missionary awareness."¹⁰² CAPRO has now [1993] 145 missionaries,¹⁰³ the schools, and in addition a media department, which publishes two

⁹⁸ Since a few years EMS also accepts unmarried men, but they have to marry within three years if they want to remain EMS missionaries (Int. Rev. Panya Baba 6.2.1987).

⁹⁹ Int. Rev. Panya Baba 6.2.1987; Int. Alastair M. Kennedy 10.1.1987; Int. Nike Akinkunmi 5.2.1987; Int. Taiwo Rotibi 5.2.1987.

¹⁰⁰ Therefore Panya Baba sees CAPRO not as competing with EMS, but as a necessary alternative (Int. Rev. Panya Baba 6.2.1987).

¹⁰¹ Naomi Famunore, Focus on School of Missions in: Occupy, Special Celebrations Edition 1986, 4f.

¹⁰² NIFES - Fiedler 4.3.1987.

¹⁰³ They work in five zones of Northern Nigeria and in five other countries (Kennedy - Fiedler 3.3.1993).

magazines and a few books and contributes to films and radio programmes.¹⁰⁴

The second Nigerian faith mission to be described here is the Christian Missionary Foundation (CMF), founded by Reuben E. Ezemadu in Ibadan. It comes from the background of the Christian Students Social Movement of Nigeria (CSSM).¹⁰⁵ After hearing a talk on the "missionary challenge facing Nigerian Christians today" during the 1981 CSSM conference, 57 volunteered. In Sept. 1981 the CMF was founded with the motto: "Ministering the whole word to the whole man in the whole world."¹⁰⁶

Its aim is to establish churches in areas unreached or not well reached,¹⁰⁷ in Nigeria and abroad.¹⁰⁸ But at present, missionary motivation seems to have prominence. This motivating effort is not confined to Nigeria. The CMF also

¹⁰⁴ Headed by Timothy O. Olonade. Olonade is very much interested in missiology and is important in NEMA, the Nigerian Evangelical Missions Association (Int. 5.2.1987).

¹⁰⁵ Reuben E. Ezemadu, Focus on the Christian Missionary Foundation, draft for Mission Focus Magazine 1987, 3. CSSM (also called Christian Evangelical Social Movement) was organized in May 1977 by students from the universities of Ibadan and of Ife as a movement to mobilize students in higher institutions towards evangelism (Matthew Ojo, Charismatic Movements in Africa, unpublished, 37).

¹⁰⁶ "[CMF] sponsors career missionaries, volunteer missionaries and short-term missionaries to fulfil the call of God upon them and supports them with prayers and gifts. CMF also engages in health, agricultural and other services aimed at improving the physical lives of the people" (Introducing the Christian Missionary Foundation nd)

¹⁰⁷ CMF, Taking Advantages 1; "It has an express purpose of reaching areas in Nigeria, Africa and other parts of the world where the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ is yet to gain roots" (Introducing the CMF).

¹⁰⁸ Up to now work has been started in 11 countries, but not in unreached areas. The work done is usually evangelism and training, for ex. in St. Rita near Cotonou, Benin (Mrs and Mr Zinsou), in the slums of Pt. Bouet, Ivory Coast (Gloria and James Kwarteng), in the suburbs of Entebbe, Uganda (Mrs and Mr Gichuru) or among the poor in Zimbabwe (Rose Kubeyinje). John Adeniji works as a school teacher in Gambia, in fellowship with WEC [Int. 30.7.1986], Chinwe Onochie works with Child Evangelism Fellowship in Ivory Coast (Profile of CMF Missionaries 1986/1987) etc.

tries to establish in other African countries missionary centers which finance themselves.¹⁰⁹ The first such center, some of whose members were trained in Lagos, has been established in Malawi. From Kenya evangelistic efforts were undertaken in the neighbouring countries. As far as possible the missionaries are to earn their own support as "volunteer missionaries" in the country where they work.¹¹⁰ This is a new variety of the industrial mission idea, also developed in a situation of financial stringency, as it is difficult to get permission to transfer money out of Nigeria.

African Missionary Training Institutes

In the realm of the faith mission churches growing mission awareness has not only resulted in the birth of denominational and interdenominational missions, but there are also the very first African missionary training institutes. One has already been mentioned: Gana Ropp, where CAPRO conducts a 9 months' course for its own missionaries, which also members of other missions may attend. The most developed institute is at present the Missionary Training College in Eldoret, belonging to the Africa Inland Church.

When visiting AICMB missionaries in his capacity as a member of the board,¹¹¹ Rev. Samson Bet (Eldoret) observed that the growing number of AICMB missionaries did not lack enthusiasm, but often came across problems for which they had not been prepared.¹¹² Around 1979 he became

¹⁰⁹ "The role that CMF aims to play in emerging Missionary work in Africa is to stimulate Christians in various parts of Africa and to organize local Christians to finance, pray for and support the sending out of indigenous Missionaries within their own countries and to their neighbouring states" (Ezemadu, Focus on the CMF).

¹¹⁰ A traditional example is that of Stella Okoronkwo, who works in Nairobi for a Christian organization producing literature for francophone Africa. An innovative example is that of NN who established a travel agency in Equatorial Guinee, serving also as a base for evangelistic efforts there (Profile of CMF Missionaries 1986/1987).

¹¹¹ Rev. Samson Bet is now AICMB chairman.

¹¹² Int. Rev. Samson Bet 15.12.1986.

convinced that Kenyan missionaries would need specialized training just as Western missionaries.¹¹³ In his (Western) section of the AIC he won support for his idea¹¹⁴ to start a training institute for missionaries.¹¹⁵ A committee was formed to transfer the idea into reality.¹¹⁶ In these developments no non-Kenyans were involved, neither officially nor unofficially. On July 2, 1982 the committee decided to ask Jonathan Hildebrandt, AIM missionary then on home leave, to be the director of the college.¹¹⁷ About the same time it was decided that the new institute was not to be part of an existing bible school or college, but an independent institution in a separate locality. The question of locality was solved by Mrs and Mr Limo, farmers near Eldoret,¹¹⁸ who donated 30 acres of their farm.¹¹⁹ Altogether Kenyan

¹¹³ His visit to All Nations Christian College in England also somehow contributed to his ideas (Int. Rev. Samson Bet 15.12.1986).

¹¹⁴ Among others Rev. Birech, Chairman of Nandi District Church Councils and of Rift Valley Regional Church Council, who then succeeded Bishop Mulwa. The information given in "Africa Inland Church Missionary College Catalogue 1986" (p. 4) that Bishop Birech and Tim Kendagor had the original vision, is not correct.

¹¹⁵ Parallel to these ideas Tim Kendagor developed ideas to expand Kapsabet Bible College, whose director he was (Int. Rev. Tim Kendagor 15.12.1986). A secondary motif in both ideas may have been the wish to enhance the role of the Western (younger) AIC districts (Nandi, Rift Valley, Eldoret). But to expand Kapsabet would have been seen as competition to Scott Theological College, as the only Theological College at the top of AIC's hierarchy of training institutes.

¹¹⁶ No minutes of this time seem to exist. The earliest available ones are: Min. Curriculum Committee 22.1.1982. But the general committee had started to meet in 1979 or 1980.

¹¹⁷ Min. Curriculum Committee [Eldoret] 2.7.1982.

¹¹⁸ Due to the tremendous growth of Eldoret the farm is now on its outskirts. Close by Moi University is being erected as the second Kenyan state university. A polytechnic is already in existence. Though Eldoret is centrally situated, several insufficiently evangelized people groups live not more than 100 km away, especially the Pokot.

¹¹⁹ Mrs and Mr Limo are members of the AIC and very active in the East African Revival Movement. Mrs Limo suggested to her husband that they donate to the missionary training school a piece of their land out of gratitude for God's blessings. At the time of independence Mr Limo was an agricultural officer. The South African,

Christians donated more than 2,000,000 Kshs for the college,¹²⁰ not counting the value of the land.¹²¹ Later overseas organizations also helped.¹²²

In 1986 the Missionary College Eldoret¹²³ started its first course with 12 students.¹²⁴ Four couples ran the college and the course. The next course was to take in 22 students, overall capacity is to be 100.¹²⁵ The college is AIC property, but also accepts students from other churches. The prospective students must have finished four years' study of theology¹²⁶ and have sufficient command of English. If students are married, both wife and husband have to take part in the course, though usually the wives work only for the "certificate in missiology," whereas the men work for the "diploma in missiology."¹²⁷ For small children there is a kindergarten. In the morning

who owned the farm, wanted it to "remain in Christian hands" and allowed payment in smaller installments over a longer period of time (Int. Mrs Limo 14.12.1987; Int. Mr Limo 14.12.1986). The piece of land was donated in 1981 and handed over officially to Eldoret MTC in 1984.

¹²⁰ Catalogue 7. On 9.5.1985 President Moi as AIC member gave 150000 Kshs without publicity from his private account [copy of the cheque; Int. Jonathan Hildebrand 13.12.1986].

¹²¹ About 1 000 000 Kshs.

¹²² Catalogue 8. "Hilfe für Brüder" (Germany) helped with grants for building and by seconding a handyman for some time (Int. Jonathan Hildebrand 14.12.1986).

¹²³ *[https://kenyanlife.com/African Independent Church-missionary college-eldoret/](https://kenyanlife.com/African_Independent_Church-missionary_college-eldoret/); www.lausanneworldpulse.com/perspectives-php/107601-2009.

¹²⁴ For further developments see: Jonathan Hildebrandt, Africa Inland Church Missionary College, Eldoret, Kenya in: William D. Taylor (ed), *Internationalizing Missionary Training: A Global Perspective*, Exeter/Grand Rapids 1991, 97-109.

¹²⁵ The first course finished in April 1987. Of the six couples five work as missionaries (among the Sabaot, Somali, Pokot, Maasai and Boya [South Sudan]. One couple works in urban missions (The A.I.C. Missionary College Messenger, April 1988).

¹²⁶ Occasional exceptions are possible (23).

¹²⁷ Catalogue 45-48. If wives do not know enough English, special arrangements can be made (23).

the theoretical subjects, mainly anthropology and missiology, are taught,¹²⁸ in the afternoon the practical subjects: agriculture, keeping animals and mechanics. All students have to learn to care for cattle and goats and to milk them, as most of them will work among cattle keeping people. The culture shock involved is sometimes considerable. They also learn to repair bicycles, to service motor cycles and do basic repairs, as bicycles and motor cycles will be the usual means of transport. The full course lasts 16 months and consists of three terms course work, plus a longer and a shorter spell of practical work. During the longer spell the students are visited by a teacher at least twice.¹²⁹ The staff of the school is international: from America, Kenya and Korea.¹³⁰

The Eldoret Missionary College's capacity is greater than the immediate needs of the Kenyan missions. So it may be expected that it will not only serve these missions but also foster new developments. The first course has already helped AICMB missionaries to clarify their identity as missionaries as different from AIC pastors.¹³¹

The Nigerian missions have reached furthest in establishing their common identity. This process also found expression in the formation of the first evangelical national mission council, the Nigeria Evangelical Missions Association (NEMA). The idea goes back to Panya Baba (EMS), who, while

¹²⁸ Cultural Anthropology; The Missionary Movement and Africa; Principles of Evangelism and Church Planting; Structure and Policies of a Mission Society (Catalogue 1986).

¹²⁹ Catalogue 32-44; Int. Jonathan Hildebrand 12.12. and 14.12.1986, Int. Malcolm (10.12.) und Barbara Collins 14.12.1986, Int. Jin Ju 14.12.1986.

¹³⁰ The Hildebrands and the Collins are Americans, the Jus are Koreans, the Ng'ang'as (with 10 years' missionary experience in Turkana) and the Mutungas are Kenyans (Kikuyu and Kamba).

¹³¹ This became very clearly visible in comparing Int. Rev. Wilson Bartwol (AICMB missionary in Marsabit) 11.12.1987 and Int. Ruth and Ally Towett (Eldoret MTC students there on practical) 10.12.1987. For Bartwol it was difficult to decide how far he was a diaspora pastor and how far a missionary. Bartwol is to attend the next MTC course. The Towetts were better equipped for the culture shock awaiting them.

attending a meeting of the World Evangelical Federation (WEF) Missions Commission was challenged by Ernst Vatter of the German Liebenzell Mission,¹³² to start an organization of Nigerian missions. When Panya Baba tried, at first enthusiasm was very limited. When he tried again, he met with success as he was supported by CAPRO, which had meanwhile gained in stature.¹³³ NEMA now [1987] has seven members: Three denominational missions with a background in the faith mission churches (EMS [ECWA]; COCIN [SUM]; United Missionary Church),¹³⁴ three interdenominational missions (CAPRO, CMF and His Grace Evangelical Movement),¹³⁵ one mission which simultaneously is a church (Gospel Faith Mission)¹³⁶ and the

¹³² *Liebenzell Malawi is one of the early German faith missions with strong roots in the German Fellowship Movement (Gemeinschaftsbewegung). It started as a CIM branch but soon developed its own mission fields, after World War II also in Africa. In Zambia it supported the work of the Zambia Baptist Association, of which the oldest root is in an interdenominational faith mission that worked first in Malawi, the Nyassa Industrial Mission, (Reinhard Frey, *The History of the Zambia Baptist Association*, PhD, University of Malawi, 2006. Published as: Reinhard Frey, *History of the Zambia Baptist Association 1905-2005*, Zomba: Kachere, 2009.

¹³³ Int. Wilbur O'Donovan 6.2.1987.

¹³⁴ The United Missionary Church goes back to the CMA. Influences from Simpson and the CMA led to the establishment of a similar fellowship movement amongst the Mennonites in 1891, which later became a denomination like the CMA, the Missionary Church (Eileen Lager, *Merging Streams*, Elkhart 1979, 12-75). The plan of a union between Missionary Church and CMA (Harry L. Turner, President CMA - Tillman Habegger, President, *The Missionary Church Association* 17.6.59; Tillman Habegger - Harry L. Turner 2.6.1959); file: MCA Fraternal Committees, Missionary Church Association, Ft Wayne) just missed the required two-thirds majority. The Missionary Church is the Mennonite denomination with the highest percentage of members from a non-Mennonite background.

¹³⁵ According to Larry Pate, *From Every People* 253, it was started in 1975. In 1988 it had 22 missionaries, four of them in Brazil, Florida and Benin, 18 in Oyo, Ondo, Kwara and Bauchi States of Nigeria. Headquarters is at Ibadan, its character is Pentecostal, leader is Rev. Nicholas D. Osameyan.

¹³⁶ Not mentioned by Pate. - A similar group, but not a NEMA member, is New Life for all Nations. Both groups started as evangelistic teams. It made so many

Nigerian Fellowship of Evangelical Students, which itself does not send out missionaries.¹³⁷ General secretary of NEMA is Reuben Ezemedu, director of CMF.¹³⁸

An important activity, for which NEMA is responsible, is the Nigeria Evangelical Missionary Training Institute (NEMTI) in Kagoro south west of Kano.¹³⁹ It is the first interdenominational missionary training institute, not tied to one mission, in Africa. NEMTI has no buildings of its own yet. Its three 7-week courses are held at Kagoro Bible Institute during its vacations. Its director, Wilbur O'Donovan, is a SIM missionary, seconded part-time to NEMTI. The Missionary Church intends to second Lois Fuller in 1987 as a full-time teacher.¹⁴⁰

NEMTI would not have come into existence without the growing interest of Nigerian students in missions. Wilbur O'Donovan was a frequent conference speaker and often appealed for mission volunteers. Many volunteered and asked where they could be trained, but he could only give them foreign addresses.¹⁴¹ In 1984 during its general assembly in Ilorin Panya Baba suggested to NEMA to start its own missionary training institute.¹⁴² When NEMA again met in December 1984, O'Donovan was asked to

converts, that it had to establish churches for them. In preaching, conversion and missionary involvement are the main emphasis (Int. Wilbur O'Donovan 6.2.1987).

¹³⁷ NIFES - Fiedler 4.3.1987.

¹³⁸ Int. Wilbur O'Donovan 6.2.1987.

¹³⁹ All information from Int. Wilbur O'Donovan 6.2.1987. - *nemitoday.blog spot.com.

¹⁴⁰ She joined NEMI July 1987 as Dean of Studies. The courses are now being held in Jos, and land for a permanent campus has been acquired near Abuja. See: Lois Fuller, Nigeria Evangelical Missionary Institute: A Case Study in: William D. Taylor (ed), *Internationalizing Missionary Training: A Global Perspective*, Exeter/Grand Rapids 1991, 81-95.

¹⁴¹ The Assemblies of God have instituted a branch for missiological training, which could possibly accept a few outside students after 1990.

¹⁴² He made this proposal on the basis of a report O'Donovan had written for Ian Hay, Director of SIM, on the situation among Nigerian students.

establish the school for NEMA.¹⁴³ As the school has not yet any buildings of its own, every year only one term can be taught, which is not conducive to continuity.¹⁴⁴ An additional disadvantage is that the course has to take place during the rainy season.

In some of the faith mission churches there is obviously a nascent missionary movement getting under way. Missions and missionary training institutes are fruits and bearers of this new missionary movement. Some of the larger Western/international faith missions like AIM, SIM and especially WEC have taken note of this movement and try to contribute to it. Some developments seem to run parallel to those in Europe two centuries ago. It started with denominational missions, then an interdenominational variety developed. The new African missions also seem to flourish best where they keep their (friendly) distance to the churches.¹⁴⁵ Obviously there is much energy for missions available on a level below that of the church leaders. It is also obvious that the resources for missions in countries like Kenya or Nigeria, even in the financial realm, are not exhausted yet. Further growth of this new African missionary movement is to be expected, but will have to take place under severe financial restraints. It remains to be seen what influences will emanate from South Africa as a sending base for missions in black Africa as a sending base as soon as South Africa is fully integrated into black Africa.¹⁴⁶ The missionary training institutes also have made a start in creating an African missiology, not in the sense of creating a missiology that is independent of and different from European or American missiology, but nevertheless a missiology that is relevant to Africa.

¹⁴³ "NEMA and Panya Baba gave credibility, but I was on my own."

¹⁴⁴ The first term took place in 1986 with 18 students.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Andrew F. Walls, "Missionary Societies and the Fortunate Subversion of the Church," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 88:2 [1988], 141-155.

¹⁴⁶ WEC-RSA sent out its first non-white missionary in 1978, its first black missionary in 1981. Presently many applications from neighbouring countries have to be turned down because these countries do not allow finances to be sent out of the country (Fernando Mouro – Fiedler, March 1993).

Chapter 13: Sufficient Challenges

Many challenges like secularism or Islamic resurgence the faith missions share with any other missionary movement. This final chapter will concentrate on those challenges which are specific to the faith missions or which, due to their history, principles or peculiarities have a special "colouring" for the faith missions.

The Challenge of the Unreached

The first and foremost aim of the faith missions was to reach the unreached, those who had never heard of Jesus. In terms of geography this challenge has been greatly reduced, and the faith missions played a leading role in that process over the last century and a quarter. But the challenge is still sufficiently great: Most of the unreached areas and their "hidden people" are within what Evangelical missiologists now call the 10/40 window, which means that part of the Northern Hemisphere from 10 to 40 degrees of latitude, from North Africa to Central Asia.¹ This area contains much of the Muslim Belt, and this means that it contains the most unresponsive areas to Christian evangelism.² A special feature of this "window" is that it contains a number of peoples in the former Soviet Empire, which now have become accessible for foreign missionaries.³

Though the responsive (non-Muslim) areas of Africa have mostly been evangelized, there are pockets of responsive areas left, especially in West-

¹ Cf. Garry Corwin [SIM] in *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 1992, 118ff.

² It must not be overlooked, though, that especially faith missions do a considerable amount of missionary work among Muslims. Though the response is very limited, there has been an increase in the number of conversions over the last decade or so, and a number of ex-Muslim Christian congregations have stabilized or come into being.—*There are reports about conversions of many Berbers in Algeria, and outside Africa there is a movement of Farsi speakers to the Christian faith.

³ One mission which is taking advantage of these new opportunities is WEC International.

Africa. Whereas in early faith mission thinking the category was unreached *areas*, this has now often been replaced by unreached or hidden peoples or people groups. This new concept takes sociology more seriously: In an area which is reached, has churches etc., it may still be that certain social or ethnic groups are quite untouched by any missionary activity.⁴

In terms of numbers the challenge of the unreached is ever growing. Now there are at least two billion who have never heard the gospel in any meaningful way, and with worldwide population growth their numbers are still increasing. But although missionary work is reaching ever new groups, and the faith missions had and still have a fair share in this, even the percentage of Christians of the world population is not growing or only slightly so.⁵

The faith missions were never content just to "Christianize" people, they always sought to bring them to a living and saving faith. They had come into existence out of a revival movement which was a challenge to nominal Christianity. But nominal Christianity is not, and never was, a "Northern" phenomenon only. The challenge of nominal Christianity is an ever-present challenge for the faith missions,⁶ not excluding the churches which they themselves founded.

⁴ The concept of unreached or hidden people is still far from clear, because definitions of what constitutes such a group vary greatly. A recent attempt to clarify some issues is: Harley Schreck; David Barrett (eds), *Unreached Peoples: Clarifying the Task*, Monrovia CA 1987.

⁵ According to David B. Barrett, Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 1993 in: *IBMR*, 1993, 22f, Christians comprised 33,7 % of the world's population, in 1993 the percentage was 33,53. This means that losses in some areas, especially in Europe, make up for the considerable missionary advances elsewhere. For the year 2000 Barrett expects the Christian percentage to rise slightly to 34,07%. *Operation World calculates the world's Christian population as 32.29%.

⁶ *Related observations are made in: Robert Beaton, *Towards an Evangelical Awareness: Understanding the Impact of Traditional Religious Worldview and Charm Dependency on the Zambesi Evangelical Churches of South-Central Malawi*, MA, Baptist Theological College of Southern Africa, 2015.

Another aspect of the challenge of the unreached is the worldwide population shift to the cities, especially the mega-cities.⁷ With their geographical concept of reaching the unreached, the faith missions have achieved much, often even literally reaching "the last tribe,"⁸ but often this idea has led to their concentrating on areas with small numbers, thereby neglecting the unreached millions in the mushrooming cities of the two-thirds-world.⁹ The Pentecostal missions and churches have shown themselves more adaptable to the cities than the faith missions.

The Challenge of Interdenominationalism

Recalling Hudson Taylor's statement that the most important feature of the faith missions is not their "faith principle" of financing but their interdenominational character, how then did this aspect fare in the course of history? As a whole, it did not only survive, but seems to be gaining new strength. But this overall picture includes both processes of denominationalization and of interdenominationalization, and both processes run concurrently.

Denominationalization: Many interdenominational missions received their main support from one particular interdenominational revival movement. If and when such a revival movement changes its ecclesiology and becomes a free church denomination (as many fellowship movements do after one or two generations), the mission it supports usually becomes a denominational mission. Examples for this process of denominationalization are the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the Örebro Missionsförening, or the

⁷ For 1970 Barrett counted 161 mega-cities with populations over 1 million, for 1993 he counts 360, and for the year 2000 he expects 433.

⁸ This is the motto of New Tribes Mission, and Wycliffe Bible Translators are convinced, that even a distinct linguistic group of 100 speakers deserves the translation of the New Testament.

⁹ There were always exceptions, for example Dorothea Mission in South Africa. In city missionary work the work among the "urban poor," the "slum-dwellers," constitutes a special challenge. In literature and practice this challenge is now being taken up. See Viv Grigg, *Companion to the Poor*, Pasadena 1969; *The Cry of the Urban Poor*, Pasadena 1992.

Swiss and French sections of the Chrischona-Mission.¹⁰ Clearly perceptible as this process has been, it never reached the proportions of the process of denominationalization which took place in the interdenominational classical missions. The large majority of the faith missions kept their interdenominational character, and since the 1960s, with growing denominational pluralism, especially in the free church sector, their interdenominational character has usually been strengthened. Overall the free church element in the faith missions seems to have been gaining some ground over the years, which can be explained by the fact that over the same period most mainline churches have experienced decline¹¹ and most free churches (most of them Evangelical) experienced relative growth.¹² But by no means have the faith missions by now become a free church movement.¹³

The concept of interdenominationalism has been taken up strongly by the parachurch movements.¹⁴ Many of these parachurch movements are also

¹⁰ These faith missions which turned denominational usually did retain some interdenominational traits (like accepting missionaries from outside their denomination), and presently these are mostly growing.

¹¹ *For thoughts along related lines see: Klaus Fiedler, "Afrikas evangelikale Wende" in *Evangelikale Missiologie*, 2005, 83-99. English version: "Africa's Evangelical Turn" in Klaus Fiedler, *Conflicted Power in Malawian Christianity. Essays Missionary and Evangelical from Malawi*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2015, 349-378.

¹² This process of change was especially vivid in the USA, where the mainline denominations related to the National Christian Council are now a minority among the Protestants.

¹³ In some faith missions missionaries from the main line denominations are increasingly represented, for example in WEC-Germany. The faith missions offer an alternative venue of missionary service to those members of mainline denominations, who do not agree wholeheartedly with the dominating mainline theologies or spiritualities.

¹⁴ I define a parachurch organization as a service oriented Christian organization, which does not intend to plant churches, but has its own distinct tradition and spirituality, which often claims and/or receives the primary spiritual allegiance of its members, though they all retain membership in their respective churches. I distinguish para church organizations from specialized Christian service organizations (like the Bible Societies), which do not develop their own spirituality.

foreign missions.¹⁵ They often share a common spirituality with the faith missions, and often cooperation is strong. But since they are basically related to the same home base as the faith missions, they also compete to some extent for that home base's missionaries and money.

The Challenge of New Revival(s)

The most basic peculiarity of the faith missions was their origin in the 1858/1873 revival and the theology and spirituality derived from it. Though changes in both theology and spirituality took place,¹⁶ as they do in any Christian movement, the faith missions kept quite close to their unique heritage.

Revivalists pray for ever new revivals, but they also seem to share a subconscious feeling that their revival should be the last. So they are thrilled to see a new revival breaking, but it usually comes to them as a shock that this new revival is so different from their own, having a new piety and a new theology. In this the new revival is not different from their own, but since the revivalists perceived their message, theology and piety not as anything new but as original Christian, it is not easy for them to come to terms with the fact that a new revival claims to be as original Christian as theirs, but still differs considerably.

The first new revival to break after the Holiness Revival was the Pentecostal Revival. Because of the new Pentecostal piety and theology there was an early parting of the ways. But the common heritage was strong enough so that the Pentecostal missions could pattern their work in many aspects according to the patterns of the faith missions. This becomes clear in their adoption of the bible school pattern for theological training,¹⁷ in the pattern of mission structures, but also in their common veneration for the

¹⁵ For example, Youth With A Mission and Operation Mobilization.

¹⁶ Such changes were for example the dehistoricization of eschatology and the deemphasizing of holiness spirituality.

¹⁷ In America the New York Missionary Training College of A.B. Simpson (CMA) became the model, though Simpson remained ever critical of the Pentecostal Movement.

indigenous church principle and its high church Anglican promoter Roland Allen.¹⁸

In 1960 the Charismatic Revival broke, and, different from the Pentecostal Revival, it was not expelled from most of the denominations. Some of the faith mission home base was not affected, because the Charismatic Revival did not touch them, other sections of the home base consciously rejected it.¹⁹ But many sections of the faith mission home base were strongly touched by the Charismatic Revival, so that soon Charismatics applied to become faith missionaries. Often Charismatic existence in faith missions is somewhat uneasy, especially in those with a strong American and/or Calvinistic background, but many faith missions have been able to accommodate Charismatic missionaries in one way or another.²⁰ But with the Charismatic Revival having reached its second, the denominational, stage, this challenge is by no means over. It is still an open question if the faith missions in general will be able to come to terms with the growing number of Charismatic churches and with their new missiological emphasis.²¹ There seems also to exist the possibility of the rise of an inter-denominational Charismatic missionary movement.

¹⁸ On the Pentecostal side Allan's ideas were strongly taken up by Melvin Hodges. His book "The Indigenous Church. A Complete Handbook on how to Grow Young Churches" is still in the program of the Assemblies of God Gospel Publishing House, Springfield. For "national" church planters he wrote: Melvin Hodges, *Build My Church*, Springfield 1957.

¹⁹ This applies for example to many of the independent Bible churches, which became the major home base of the New Tribes Mission in the USA. This led to the NTM defining itself as clearly non-charismatic.

²⁰ An international faith mission which consciously attempted (and managed) "to straddle the Charismatic divide" is WEC International.

²¹ It seems to me to be too early to make an overall assessment of the Charismatic Movement as a missionary movement. But there seems to be a widespread trend to establish large independent city churches in America and Europe which tend to send out their own foreign missionaries into various parts of the world, without using the services of a missionary organization. In its very early phase the faith mission movement had attempted to accommodate independent missionaries, but could not do so without losing one of its basic achievements, the centralized

The Charismatic Revival confronts the faith missions with two challenges, which were not strange to them in their original piety: The concept of a "second blessing" (then sanctification, now baptism of the Holy Spirit) and the idea of up-to-date forms of worship (then the harmonium and Sankey songs, now praise choruses and prayers with raised arms). Judging from the overall picture of the worldwide evangelical movement, there is quite a chance of a growing convergence, but also the chance of increasingly growing apart for some sections.²²

The Challenge from the Feminist Movement

In their first decades the faith missions challenged society in general and the churches in particular by their tremendous willingness to give women positions of responsibility and leadership.

For the more recent decades and therefore for the larger part of the 20th century, the challenge usually was the other way round, while it could be rightly claimed that the missions (classical and faith) produced the "first feminist movement."²³

If the missions (and the faith missions with them) were (though maybe unconsciously) in the vanguard of the first feminist movement, today they tend more to make up the struggling rear. In some way evangelicals have managed to keep clear of the second feminist movement, whose start can

structures. Therefore, there seems to be little chance to reach such an accommodation now.

²² This seems to me obvious from the two world-congresses Lausanne I (1974) and Lausanne II in Manila (1989). In Lausanne the Pentecostal and Charismatic elements were by no means excluded, but in Manila the Charismatic presence was much more visible, even dominating some of the meetings, which also provoked some Evangelical resistance.—*With Cape Town 2010 this trend continued.

²³ See: R. Pierce Beaver, *American Protestant Women in World Mission. A History of the First Feminist Movement in North America*, Grand Rapids 1980 (1968: *All Loves Excelling*). Beaver concentrates on the classical missions and shows how they lost the "feminist cutting edge" in the process of integration. In the faith missions a similar process took place, though somewhat later and under different ideological premises (see chapter 10).

be dated in the revolutionary sixties, but its influence among the home base and among evangelical missionaries is making itself increasingly felt. One reason are overall societal influences, but the other reason is the revival of what now, looking backwards, one can term the first wave of evangelical feminism. Did not evangelical stalwarts like Wesley allow women to preach freely? And does not the New Testament show that women's ministry was not restricted to children, charity and serving the menfolk?

In the faith missions today as in their home bases, there are strong tendencies, among both women and men, to assign to women "their rightful biblical place,"²⁴ but among both, women and men, there are also tendencies to regard women not only as of equal value, but as equals, thus opening for them all venues of ministry.²⁵ This comes closer to the original faith mission attitude than the "biblical" position,²⁶ and in some missions this attitude is gaining ground. But it is far from clear to me which way the majority of missions will go. I think they may go eventually this way, but there is a good chance that by then the faith missions will have lost an unnecessarily high number of gifted women, be it to other missions, to marriage or to social and secular concerns.²⁷ Would it not be better for many people worldwide to hear the gospel from a woman than not at all?

The Challenge of Growing Qualifications

The faith missions started on the principle that missionary candidates from all educational background would be welcome. Not their educational level was to be decisive, but their spiritual level. Much emphasis was put on

²⁴ To see that rightful place in clear subordination under men is a view supported from a few segments of the Charismatic Revival.

²⁵ *An expression of this theology is: Rachel NyaGondwe Fiedler, Johannes W. Hofmeyr and Klaus Fiedler, *African Feminist Hermeneutics. An Evangelical Reflection*, Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2016.

²⁶ Though in most early faith missions women were given much scope in ministry, the regular distribution of the sacraments was almost always reserved for men.

²⁷ On the lower level of the faith mission "career" there is still quite a surplus of women, for example in the Bible schools, wherefore sometimes admission rules are relaxed for male students.

spiritual growth, and as well on practical experience in evangelism at home as a qualification for missionary service.

The faith missions quickly realized that good training is an additional qualification. This realization ran parallel to the social upward movement of those evangelical Christian groups that constituted the major part of the home base of the faith missions, so that faith missions became more of a middle-class affair than in their early years.

In a world that is growing ever more educated (though not necessarily ever more enlightened), both in the "sending" and in the "receiving" countries, it would possibly be fatal to try to reverse this trend. But this should not hinder the faith missions to devise ways that also those with less formal education can serve in missionary work. One attempt to do just this are the short-term missions like Youth With A Mission and Operation Mobilization. There are also short-term missionaries in many of the older faith missions. In some cases, these are just stop-gaps. In other cases, a stint as a short-term missionary is a test for or the initial step to a missionary career. But on the other hand, short-term service may tend to make the missionary calling "cheap" and a bit of an episode or an adventure. But the challenge to use "the neglected forces of Christianity" for missionary work remains, and remains unanswered in many cases.

The Challenge of Growing Internationalization

There is much to support the argument that in our days many of the "neglected forces of Christianity" that should be employed in the missionary endeavour are no longer to be found in the sending countries of the West, but in the former "receiving" countries. Very early in their history the faith missions grew international, and by this they opened to many who were touched by the revival in the remoter areas of the West (like Germany, Norway, New Zealand or South Africa) the necessary venues for missionary involvement. Though there are always tendencies to make faith missions more national, the tendency to internationalization seems well keeping pace with the growing internationalization of the world on all levels, facilitated by the growth of fast and comparatively cheap international communication.

Since the 1960s the racial barriers which had come into the faith missions after the turn of the century have fallen, and in quite some of the larger faith missions the percentage of "non-Whites" is steadily growing.

The distinctions of race have been overcome, but the distinctions of wealth are more difficult to overcome, because most of the "white" countries are still far wealthier. If one compares for example Germany and Brazil as sending bases, there is a considerable difference in resources. Still, missionaries from both countries are working side by side for example in Guinea Bissau. The faith missions have successfully attempted to create an awareness of worldwide missions in some of their mission fields, but if they continue to be successful in this, it will necessitate massive adjustments in their international structures, both in terms of personnel and in terms of finances.

The Challenge of International Sharing

It is interesting to note that nearly all non-Western missionaries in the international faith missions do not come from the poor countries. The majority comes from the so called "threshold nations" like Korea, Singapore, Taiwan and Brazil. Their home bases are maybe less affluent than those in the West, but they can contribute financially. But must God's call to missionary work be dependent on the economic level of a nation?²⁸

The faith missions obviously need to rethink the "faith principle" of support on a worldwide scale. The issue is: How much of the "faith principle" operates by faith and how much by culture? And is God in any way interested in national borders? If a well-qualified African from Zaire with its ruined economy and rampant inflation is to go forth as a missionary to Chad, will he find financial support?

Over many decades the idea of faith support had been tied closely to the indigenous church principle. This did not only separate money according to race, but also created the impression that it was divine will that every

²⁸ WEC-RSA for example receives regularly applications from suitable candidates from the Southern African nations. They cannot be accepted because they either have no home base which can support them or because currency regulations make it impossible to send money for missionaries out of the country.

country should support its own missionaries. And since African churches cannot support missionaries financially (unless they work very close from home), they may not send any. But can the sending of missionaries be just a function of economic surplus?

If the remaining missionary task of reaching the unreached is to be taken seriously, missionaries from the West and from those countries which can afford to pay them, simply will not suffice. In addition, it must be taken into account that Western missionaries, even faith missionaries with their low income, are quite expensive. If the "faith principle" is applied positively to the cost-intensive Western missionaries, why should it not be applied equally positively to missionaries from poorer countries who also have God's call and whose work will be often far less expensive?²⁹

One of the very first faith missions to take up this challenge is what is now Partners International and was then the Chinese Nationals Evangelism Commission and later Christian Nationals Evangelism Commission (1943).³⁰ Some other attempts at worldwide faith sharing have also been made,³¹ in

²⁹ A strong claim that Western missionary money should be employed is made by the America based Gospel for Asia, led by K.P. Yohannan. His views, radical if taken seriously, are laid down in: K.P. Yohannan, *The Coming Revolution in World Missions. God's Third Wave*, Altamonte Springs, FL ⁵1989(1986). Yohannan argues that it is largely a waste of precious resources to send Western missionaries (some specialists, like trainers for Bible translation excluded) to countries where indigenous missionaries are available. He strongly contradicts as much the "indigenous church principle" as the current concept that the Western churches should fund "projects," but never pay for spiritual work. For him "projects" are not to be the objective of the mission, but of the local churches (if and when they can afford them). Gospel for Asia now supports more than 3000 missionaries in 10 Asian countries, some of which are inaccessible to foreign missionaries, like India.

³⁰ See chapter 5. Their concept of missions and worldwide sharing is less negative towards previous missionary work than Yohannan's. See: Luis Bush; Lorry Lutz, *Partnering in Ministry. The Direction of World Evangelism*, Downers Grove 1990.

³¹ The first and up to now only missionary couple of Mission CECCA Zaire is to quite some extent supported by foreign money coming in on the basis of the faith principle. The effects of their service in Ivory Coast obviously justify this international variety of the faith principle.

several contexts a process of worldwide evangelical sharing has begun, but many tread very hesitantly, and many, if not most missions, do not seem to have become aware of the immensity of the challenge.

The Challenge from the Fall of Communism

The sudden demise of Communism came to the faith missions as much as a surprise as it came to everyone else. Some faith missions had always contended that Eastern Europe, though technically "closed" to Western missionaries, was nevertheless a worthy field of missionary endeavour, though maybe innovative means would have to be employed like bible smuggling, "visitation" ministries, distant theological education, public relations or literature production.³²

But for the majority of the faith missionaries and missiologists, the Eastern Bloc was "closed" to missionary work and was often seen just as the nucleus of an ever-growing number of countries with closed doors. For the early faith missions the imminent end of the world had been characterized by ever new doors opening (and the missions' attempt to reach the unreached who thus became accessible), of late the eschatological scenario had changed gradually but perceptively: The end time was now qualified by ever more doors closing. The identification of the antichrist had also changed in this process. Though the early faith missionaries had never come to an agreement who the antichrist was or would be, there were many who saw, like Grattan Guinness, the antichrist either to be the pope, the papacy as an institution (more frequently), or as coming from that institution in the (near) future. Over the last decades of the cold war, many expected the antichrist and the preceding evils to come from the Communist system, which was usually perceived as ever growing in strength. This position, also, was never officially accepted or shared by a large majority, but it was a potent force in eschatological thinking, especially so as the methods of interpretation of some biblical texts claimed to be in the heritage of the

³² Just to name a few: Licht im Osten (1920), Slavic Gospel Association (1934), Open Doors with Brother Andrew (1955), Biblical Education by Extension.

Prophetic Movement, which was extremely influential at the time the faith missions were born.

The ever-rising power of Communism fitted well with the negative aspects of premillennial eschatology: The expectation of ever growing decline, of a world developing speedily from bad to worse.³³ This could be seen as a call to ever greater missionary activity before the closing of the age, but it could also lead to depression or political militancy.

With the demise of Communism, all these eschatological scenarios must be revamped. "Prophetic interpretation" seems to be quite flexible, and it is possible to substitute new "realms of evil" for the precious one just lost: Be it "militant Islam" or "worldwide environmental deterioration." There are definitely tendencies to avoid repentance for false prophecies by creating new scenarios, but for the faith missions this could be an opportunity to scrupulously avoid speculative eschatology and to reembrace applied eschatology: the great eschatological task is worldwide missions, reaching everyone everywhere with the gospel.

The fall of Communism has brought two further challenges: The open doors to the East mean that the faith missions can now reach many an unreached area that seemed to be closed forever, like Mongolia or the Asian republics

³³ A major "prophet" of this kind of political eschatology was the best-selling author Hal Lindsay, whose book: *Great Late Planet Earth* sold by the millions in English and by the tens of thousands in many other languages. He did not belong to a faith mission, but to a para-church organization, Campus for Christ. In a later book he predicted confidently that the final battle was close at hand (*The 1980s: Countdown to Harmageddon*), that the Antichrist was already alive and a member of the European Parliament, and that Russian expansion would be stopped only in the final battle by divine intervention. In this book he integrated eschatology successfully into extreme American militarism. He has not yet published any explanation why things did not happen as the Bible had clearly predicted them. - My claim is not that Lindsay represented the thinking of the faith missions, but that a considerable number of faith missionaries were influenced by it or by similar eschatological (mis)conceptions.—*I remember that the young son of an American faith missionary told me in the 1980s that he wanted to become a fighter pilot so that he could get through the Battle of Harmageddon.

of the Soviet Union.³⁴ Both Western and Asian faith missions have started to take up this challenge.

But the former Communist Bloc countries must not be seen only as new mission fields, but they are also a challenge as possible new sending bases. When there was a chance, missionaries from Eastern Europe had participated in various Western missionary movements, including the faith missions.³⁵ The political changes in Eastern Europe make it possible for the faith missions to extend their sending bases, but this extension, too, may not reach far without financial innovations.

The Challenge of Missiology

The evangelical missions (and the faith missions as a major constituent part) have always had their own identity, and so, right from the beginning, had their own practical missiology. Since their identity was undermarketed as against other missionary movements, they could utilize some of the scholarly work and thinking of the classical mission movement.³⁶

But over the decades, with growing personal and educational resources, the faith missions started to make their own contribution to missiology as a science. Since the two movements, which never had been one,³⁷ drifted more apart in the 20th century, the Evangelicals had to formulate their own missiology. They were somewhat slow in taking up this challenge, but they are increasingly doing so. The lead in this was taken in the USA, where there

³⁴ But to some these areas were not closed for information and intercession, for example people around the veteran WEC researcher (and early missionary to Guinea-Bissau as Bessie Fricker's husband) Leslie Brierley, who started the NAMECA concert of prayer for the Non-Arab Muslim Ethnic Groups in Central Asia.

³⁵ For example, between the two wars six Hungarians joined the interdenominational German Liebenzell Mission, and recently a Hungarian branch of Liebenzell Mission has been reestablished.

³⁶ This can for example be seen in the fact that the German Sudan-Pionier-Mission, whose coming into existence in 1900 was highly resented by the leading classical missiologist Gustav Warneck, nevertheless warmly recommended his mission history to its readers.

³⁷ *Klaus Fiedler, "Edinburgh 1910, Africa 2010 and the Evangelicals," *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, xxxvi (3) Oct 2010, 53-71.

are a number of thriving Evangelical graduate schools and programmes in missiology. But the challenge to fully develop Evangelical missiology is still there. In many countries very little is being done, the history of many missions and churches has never been written in any scholarly way, so that much identity is in danger of being lost. Also, some subjects do not receive the necessary attention like the study of non-Christian religions, the evaluation of Catholic missionary work or the indigenization/contextualization of theology. And much more creative thinking needs to be done on special faith mission issues: The faith principle of financial support, the challenge of the unreached, the third world missionary involvement, the role as women as missionaries, or the relationship between institutional missionary work and direct evangelism. A creative missiology will help the faith missions not to become just another group of institutions surviving from a bygone revival.

The Challenge of the "Young" Churches

When the faith missions started their work in Africa, they did not think much in terms of ecclesiology for their converts, as they simply did not expect the developments that took place. But now here they are, the "churches on the mission field," young, vigorous and ever growing. This poses for the faith missions the challenge to take conscious ecclesiology seriously. It is just not enough to open the bible and to quote a few verses, since that depicts more the missionaries' ecclesiastical tradition or private leanings based on the New Testament and applied to a certain place on the globe and to a certain time in history.

What is needed is a conscious ecclesiology, which will take seriously the young churches' identity, the missions' doctrinal traditions and the social and political context in which the churches exist. The missions cannot provide this alone, but they can contribute to the development of an indigenous ecclesiology by making a conscious contribution.³⁸

³⁸ One such conscious contribution is: Alastair M. Kennedy, *The Church. An Ecclesiology Study Manual*, Abidjan 1992. Another contribution are regional meetings of WEC related churches, where ecclesiology was thoroughly discussed.

One aspect of this necessary ecclesiological thinking will be to provide an answer to the issue of wider unity for the faith mission churches. Is wider unity for them to be found in the National Christian Council (or maybe in the National Evangelical Fellowship) or are there sister churches in other countries, even if there can be no mother church overseas?

The other ecclesiological issue the faith missions have to face is rather a thorny one: How to relate to the churches they have helped to bring into being? The issue is thorny in so far as the bigger churches among them developed into folk churches with many non-converted and non-committed members. The faith missions' priority was always evangelism. How will they be able to evangelize among those who are full members of those churches that they themselves founded? Or is it their job just to provide specialized support for the "young" churches and leave evangelism to them?

Sufficient Challenges

The faith mission movement originated from the realization that the Risen Lord's commission to evangelize the world had not yet been carried out sufficiently. So more had to be done, innovative steps had to be taken and were taken indeed. Since then more than 125 years have passed. The worldwide missionary task is still unfulfilled. Over the generations the faith missions have been able to meet many challenges, and they have kept their vitality, if not each and every individual mission, but the movement as a whole. This gives confidence that the faith missions will be able to meet the present challenges and to continue their distinct contribution to the worldwide missionary task. If they succeed in this, their contribution will not be the only one as it never was.

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In order not to increase the number of pages unduly, not all the materials used in this book are listed here. The book is largely based on primary sources collected in Europe, Africa and the United States. For archival material, such as letters and minutes, for journals published by the faith missions, and for interviews and letters to the author, and for web references, please refer to the footnotes. The list of books and articles includes only those titles directly related to faith missions or to the movements which influenced them. I have attempted to look at, as far as possible, all dissertations related to faith missions. The following list of books and articles also includes unpublished items and includes books and theses which were added in this new edition.

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It is not the European and American churches that evangelized Africa, but the mission societies. The missions from the Great Awakening like London Missionary Society and Church Missionary Society, or the Holy Ghost Fathers and the White Fathers, which started the process of Sub-Saharan Africa becoming a Christian continent, are well known and their work is better documented. Less known and less documented are the interdenominational faith missions, beginning in 1873, aiming to reach the still unreached areas of Africa: North Africa, the Sudan Belt and the Congo Basin. So there were missions like Africa Inland Mission or Sudan Interior Mission, which gave birth to some of the big churches like ECWA in Nigeria and Africa Inland Church in Kenya.

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